

## **EQUALITY & REVOLUTION**

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Jonathan Harris, Editor

# **EQUALITY & REVOLUTION**

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1905–1917

Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild

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*For Vicki, Rafi, and Megan, with love*

*For Zinaida Nikitina (1937–2008), Marina Kostiukova (1959–1999), and  
Yelena Vainshtein (1939–2004), three memorable Russian women*

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## PREFACE

A REEXAMINATION of Russian feminist activists is especially timely at this historical moment. Since the Soviet collapse, a number of Russian scholars have begun reinterpreting the role and significance of Russian feminism. Conferences on women's history now occur annually in Russia, and conference volumes typically include some papers on feminism, considering the movement in a more positive light. Especially among historians in Russia, a much more nuanced and complex portrait of feminism has emerged.

A number of scholars have made important contributions: Natalia Pushkareva is a pioneer.<sup>1</sup> Valentina Uspenskaia and Olga Khasbulatova have helped build the scholarly basis for further study of prerevolutionary women's activism. Svetlana Aivazova has credited the feminists with a significant role in building the bases for a liberal democratic modernization of Russia before the October Revolution and influencing the Bolsheviks to pay more attention to women after the Revolution. Natalia Novikova and Olga Shnyrova have compared the approaches of Russian and British feminists. Marina Liborakina has challenged the undervaluing of women's civil activism in prerevolutionary Russia and has argued for the strong indigenous roots of civil society in her country. Marianna Muravyeva has analyzed the historical and legal basis of violence against women. Pavel Shcherbinin has illuminated women's activism in the central "black earth" region. Irina Yukina has argued for the feminists' role in raising consciousness and mobilizing women as a powerful opposition force to tsarist rule and for the reexamination of the contributions of such feminist activists as Olga Shapir and Ariadna Tyrkova. Yukina's latest book, *Russkii feminism kak vyzov sovremennosti* (Russian feminism as a challenge to modernity), is the most thorough reexamination of the feminists' legacy produced by a Russian scholar to date. The March 2008 conference in St. Petersburg commemorating the centennial of the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress showed that research and writing about Russian women's history is flourishing.<sup>2</sup>

This book contributes to the East-West dialogue and scholarship by further bringing attention to the issue of gender in the historical narratives about the fight for political rights in the Russian Empire. Further, I seek to integrate Russia into the history of the struggle for women's suffrage internationally. The empire was multinational, and a number of national women's movements emerged within its boundaries, especially in Finland, Poland, and Ukraine. These movements de-

serve more attention, but in this book I have focused on Finland because of the historic suffrage victory of 1906. Although I have not had access to research in Finnish, I participated in the 2006 Tampere conference commemorating the centennial of women's suffrage in Finland. My participation there greatly aided the research for this book, as has the work of the Finnish scholars Irma Sulkunen, Aura Korppi-Tommola, Maria Lähteenmäki, and Rita Jallinoja. The historian Karen Offen has in her scholarship brought forward a European and a global feminist perspective that is significant in acknowledging the Finnish and Russian achievements. Her work has greatly influenced this book as well.

The primary sources on the Russian feminists, both printed and archival, are extensive. Four feminist journals (*Zhenskii vestnik* [Women's herald], *Soiuz zhenshchin* [Union of women], *Zhenskaia mysl'* [Woman's thought], and *Zhenskoe delo* [Woman's cause]); one almanac (*Pervyi zhenskii kalendar'* [First woman's calendar]); and one encyclopedia (*Zhenskaia entsiklopediia* [Woman's encyclopedia]) appeared between 1899 and 1917. In addition, several conferences published proceedings, including the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress, the 1910 Congress on White Slavery, and the December 1912 through January 1913 Congress on Women's Education. Many pamphlets and articles appeared in popular and scholarly journals and newspapers. Archival materials include the archive of the Women's Equal Rights Union, the Mutual Philanthropic Society, and the personal archives for many of the leading feminists, including Maria Chekhova, Ariadna Tyrkova, Maria Pokrovskaiia, Liubov Gurevich, Praskovia Arian, Anna Filosofova, and Ekaterina Shchepkina, located in Moscow and St. Petersburg, as well as materials in provincial archives. The archives of international organizations, including the International Council of Women and the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, also contain information about the Russian feminists who attended all the major conferences of these organizations and reported on conditions in their country.

The historians Richard Stites and Linda Edmondson have been very generous in sharing their research. Edmondson has continued to write about women's rights and civil rights in Russia. She has been consistent in arguing for a more nuanced view of the feminists that goes beyond traditional Soviet categorizations. Other Western scholars—such as Choi Chatterjee, Rhonda Clark, Barbara Evans Clements, Michelle DenBeste, Ruth Dudgeon, Évelyne Enderlein, Barbara Alpern Engel, Beatrice Brodsky Farnsworth, Beate Fieseler, Adele Lindenmeyr, Barbara Norton, Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, Christine Ruane, and Christine Worobec—have added to our knowledge of women's roles in civic society in the late imperial period.

This book has had a long gestation. Hofstra University and the New York

State Board of Regents funded my undergraduate education. The University of Rochester and the U.S. government, through the National Defense Education Act (thank you, Sputnik) funded my graduate education in Russian history. Over the years, grants supporting my research have come from the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), the National Endowment for the Humanities, Norwich University, and the Union Institute and University. I have received significant support from the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University. For their assistance to me as a center associate, I am most grateful to Director Tim Colton and Associate Director Lisbeth Tarlow, as well as staffers Maria Altamore, Laura Beshears, Hillary Colter, Sarah Failla, Joan Gabel, Donna Griesenbeck, Ann Janik, Ann Sjostedt, Penny Skalnik, Soner Tashkaya, Trish Vio, Chris Porto, and Mary Towle.

It takes a village to write a book. Numerous people in Russia and the former Soviet Union have aided my research. Naum Sladkevich was my adviser on my first exchange visit in 1966 and 1967 at Leningrad State University. Grigorii Tishkin was my adviser in 1978 and 1979, also at Leningrad State University; more recently, his invitation to the June 2002 Women in Civil Society conference at St. Petersburg State University enabled me to make important contacts with scholars from the former Soviet Union and the European Union. Participation in the 1999 conference “Writing Women’s History and History of Gender in Countries in Transition”—organized by Elena Gapova, the Center for Gender Studies of the European Humanities University, and the Program on Gender and Culture of the Central European University in Minsk—helped me share my research with scholars from the former Soviet Union and Europe. I am also grateful to Elzbieta Oleksy, head of the Women’s Studies program at the University of Lodz, and to my copanelists Nancy Wingfield, Lisa Kirschenbaum, and Kelly Stauter-Halstead for their input at the Gender 2002 conference in Lodz.

Archivists at the following institutions were enormously helpful: the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), the Archive of the Academy of Sciences (ARAN), the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) at the Central Historical Archive of Moscow (TsIAM), the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA) in St. Petersburg, the Institute of Russian Literature and Art (IRLI), the Archive of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, the University of Vilnius in Lithuania, and the Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. Particularly helpful were archivists Elena Korkhina at the RGALI, Serafima Grigorievna Sakharova at the RGIA, Larisa Rogova at the Archive of the Russian National Library, and Irina Il’ina at the ARAN. Marina Katseva helped convey important

archival materials to me. Liudmila Selivanova's assistance in obtaining further archival materials from Russia, and Yuliia Siniagina Woodruff's research here in the United States, greatly helped. Archivists at Moscow's Central State Museum of the Modern History of Russia—especially Olga Krysanova, Liudmila Pizhova at the Central State Archive of Movie, Photo, and Phonographic Documents of Saint Petersburg (TsGAKFFD SPb), and Jennifer Krafchik of the National Women's Party Archive at the Sewall-Belmont House and Museum—aided me in finding wonderful visual representations from their files. Director Natalia Kalantarova and her staff at the Russian State Film and Photo Documents Archive at Krasnogorsk (RGAKFD) were very cooperative in locating the newsreel of the March 19, 1917, women's suffrage march. Sergei and Maria Mironenko were helpful during my 2009 research trip. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted shared her wealth of knowledge about working in the Russian archives.

Librarians at many institutions have aided in providing material for this book. They include librarians at the Slavonic Collection of the Helsinki University Library, the Russian National Library and the Academy of Sciences Library in St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg State University Library, the Russian State Library in Moscow, the Slavic Collection at the New York Public Library, the Hoover Institution, the Library of Congress, the University of California–Berkeley, the University of Illinois, the University of Rochester, Widener Library, the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College, and the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women, the Library and Archives of Canada, the International Information Centre and Archive for the Women's Movement (especially Annette Mevis), the British Library and the Fawcett Women's Library, and Jane Baker and Bridge Gillies at the University of East Anglia. Special thanks go to Anna Bourgina of the Hoover Institution; Barbara Haber, Katherine Kraft, and Eva Moseley of the Schlesinger Library; Susan Gardos and Helena Repina of the Davis Center Library; and Hugh K. Truslow of the Fund Library at Harvard. Tess Zimmerman of the Gary Library at Vermont College of The Union Institute and University was outstanding in obtaining sources.

Valentina Filatova of the Free Economic Society/Zemstvo Fund archive in St. Petersburg shared stories of her experience surviving the siege of Leningrad. Natalia Novikova, Natalia Pushkareva, Marianna Muravyeva, Olga Shnyrova, Zoia Grishina, Boris Egorov, Beate Fieseler, Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, Senia Roginskii, and Anna and Grigorii Tamarchenko tracked down sources and photos and shared their knowledge of Russian history and culture. Olga Rolle drove me to feminist places of interest in St. Petersburg, using her expert knowledge of the city.



I am especially grateful to Irina Yukina for her general assistance and for introducing me to Nonna Igorievna Roshina, the granddaughter of Poliksena Shishkina-lavein. Nonna Igorievna was most generous in sharing pictures, videos, and many reminiscences of her illustrious grandmother.

For helping me to understand and appreciate more deeply Russian language and culture, many thanks go to the students, staff, and colleagues at the late and lamented Norwich University Russian School. For their good humor, I would like to thank my comrades from academic exchanges in 1966 and 1967, especially Michael Curran, Michael Flier, Barbara Heldt, Dick and Marlene Wortman, Martin Lopez-Morillas, Joseph Manson, Jack and Ann Mazelis, Val Hodgson, and from 1978 to 1979, Judith Lefkowitz Anderson, Ruth Dudgeon, Heather Hogan, Jim Krukones, Bonnie Marshall, Steve Millar, Tim Mixer, Deborah Pearl, Kira Stevens, Allan Urbanic and Barbara Tegzes, Frank and Jane Wcislo, Irina Diatlovic, and Isha Tliusty. I shall be eternally grateful to the many wonderful Russians with whom I shared remarkable conversations around cozy kitchen tables, along with tasty meals and of course vodka. Among those who made lasting impressions are Raya Izrina and Grisha Oxenkrug, Lev and Lilya Druskin, Natasha Frumkina, Senia Roginskii, the Levin family, Evgenii Rukhin, the Toker and Korkhin families, Asya Vershubskaia and Vasya Fedorov, Evgenii and Vera Smoliansky, and Misha and Bella Levant.

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I have been very fortunate for having known such strong Russian women as Yelena Vainshtein, Zina Nikitina, and Marina Kostiukova. My mother-in-law, Edna Levins, and my mother-out-law, Ruth Kaplan, modeled the intellectual passion

of women of their generation. My beloved colleague for thirty years, Edgar Mott Bottome, was an inspiration in countless ways, as was his wife, Abigail. This book and the dissertation that preceded it could not have been completed without the encouragement and guidance of my dissertation advisers, Sidney Monas and Brenda Meehan. Many thanks for the dissertation typing of Liz Fenton; the support of Annie Crisafulli in the era before computers and Fed Ex; my wonderful comrades at The Union Institute and University, Margaret Blanchard, Argentine Craig, Kirsten Grimstad, Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, Loree Miltich, Susan Rennie, Fred Taylor, and Margaret White; the technical support of Claire Craig and Margaret Bleichman; the remarkable photo/visual skills of Marcy Kagan and Karen Lindsay, Alan Asadorian, and Jim Munn of Dorian Color; the Japanese translation skills of Rochelle Kopp; the medical wisdom of Judy Fisch; and the encouragement of Erica Clarke, Joan Corn, Dottie and Jerry Cohen, Valerie and Norm Dubin, Mary Farkas, Judy Gelfand, Joyce Goldstein, Adrienne Landau, Adrien Meskin, Deborah Pearlman, and Laura X. I have appreciated the comments of Karen Offen and Elizabeth Wood, the advice of Jane Gary Harris and Jonathan Harris, and the flexibility and patience of my editor at the University of Pittsburgh Press, Peter Kracht. Amy Smith Bell, my copy editor, painstakingly reviewed the manuscript.

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My grandparents emigrated from the Russian/Polish borderlands and shared with me their bittersweet memories about the old country and the culture of our families who were murdered in the Holocaust. I regret that my father, Samuel A. Goldberg, *praeceptor et magister eximius*, and my mother, Ruth Goldberg, whose soup could make a nation stand on its feet, did not live to see the publication of this book.

I especially acknowledge my wife, Vicki Gabriner, for her unstinting love, support, and sense of humor. Any errors or omissions in this book are my sole responsibility.

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS AND DATES

FOR THE transliteration of Russian names, I have employed a modified Library of Congress system without diacritical marks. Most proper names are listed in accordance with this system, except when another spelling has been commonly used. Thus Nikolai II is Nicholas II, Aleksandra is Alexandra, and the common transliterations of Trotsky, Kerensky, and Miliukov have not been changed.

On February 1, 1918, the revolutionary Soviet government changed the calendar to accord with the Western (Gregorian) calendar. All dates before that time follow the Russian (Julian) calendar and are behind the Western calendar by twelve days in the nineteenth century and thirteen days in the twentieth century. All dates after February 1918 follow the Western calendar.

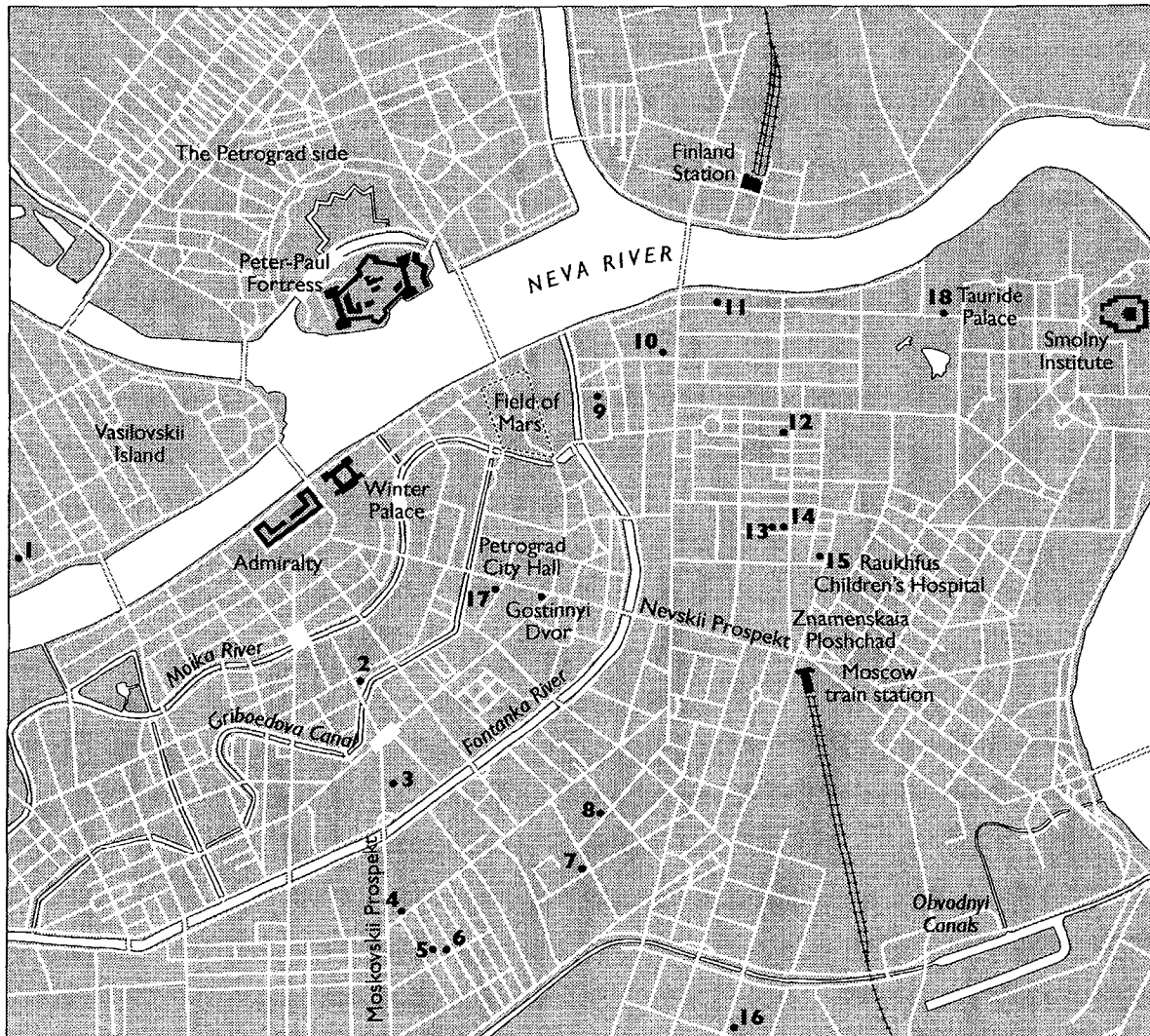
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## CHRONOLOGY OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1895–1918

- May 25, 1895 ■ The Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society (Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimno-blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo) is founded in St. Petersburg.
- January 1899–December 1900 ■ *Women's Cause (Zhenskoe delo)* is published in St. Petersburg.
- 1899 ■ The first issue of *The First Women's Calendar (Pervyi zhenskii kalendar')* is edited and published by Praskov'ia Belenkaia Arian in St. Petersburg.
- 1902 ■ Anna Shabanova requests government permission to hold a Russian Women's Congress.
- September 1904 ■ The first issue of *Women's Herald (Zhenskii vestnik)* is edited and published by Maria Pokrovskaia in St. Petersburg.
- January 9, 1905 ■ Tsarist troops fire on a peaceful workers demonstration in St. Petersburg. The event becomes known as Bloody Sunday.
- February 1905 ■ The Women's Equal Rights Union (Soiuz ravnopraviia zhenshchin) is founded in Moscow.
- May 1905 ■ The Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society sends the first suffrage petition to the government.
- October 17, 1905 ■ The congress of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets), in Moscow, is founded. The program makes support for women's suffrage nonbinding.
- December 1905 ■ The Women's Progressive Party (Zhenskaia progressivnaia partiia) is founded in St. Petersburg.
- 1906 ■ The League for Women's Equal Rights (Liga ravnopraviia zhenshchin) is founded in St. Petersburg.
- April 1906 ■ A splinter group from the Women's Equal Rights Union forms Women's Political Clubs in St. Petersburg.
- July 7, 1906 ■ Tsar Nicholas II approves the Finnish reforms, including women's suffrage. Finland becomes the first national entity in the world where all women (twenty-four years and older) have the right to vote and run for elective office.
- 1907 ■ The first socialist party-sponsored club for women workers opens in St. Petersburg.
- June 1907 ■ The first issue of *Women's Union (Soiuz zhenshchin)*, edited by Maria A. Chekhova in St. Petersburg, appears.
- July 1907 ■ Nineteen women are elected to the Finnish Parliament.
- December 10–16, 1908 ■ The first All-Russian Women's Congress (Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s'ezd) is held in St. Petersburg.
- 1909 ■ Alexandra Kollontai's *Social Basis of the Woman Question (Sotsial'nye osnovy zhenskogo voprosa)* is published.

- December 1909** ■ *Women's Union* ceases publication. Maria Chekhova moves to Moscow.
- 1910** ■ The International Women's Socialist Congress establishes International Women's Day.
- January 1910** ■ The Moscow branch of the League for Women's Equal Rights officially opens.
- April 21–25, 1910** ■ The first Russian Congress on the Struggle against the Trade in Women is held.
- 1912** ■ The Third Women's Club is founded in Moscow.
- December 26, 1912–January 4, 1913** ■ The Russian Congress on Women's Education (Pervyi Vserossiiskii s'ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin) is held, in St. Petersburg.
- February 23, 1913** ■ International Women's Day is first celebrated in Russia.
- 1915** ■ The last issue of *The First Women's Calendar* is published, after an article about Kollontai is censored.
- February 23, 1917** ■ Mass International Women's Day celebrations are held in Petrograd, beginning the February Revolution that ultimately topples the tsar.
- March 1917** ■ The Russian League for Women's Equal Rights changes its name to the All-Russian League for Women's Rights
- March 15, 1917** ■ The All-Russian Women's Union (Vserossiiskii zhenskii soiuz) is founded. The Union immediately seeks affiliation with the International Council of Women.
- March 19, 1917** ■ A mass women's suffrage demonstration is held in Petrograd. Led by Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein and Vera Figner, forty thousand women march from the City Duma to the State Duma at the Tauride Palace. The women refuse to leave; Soviet and Provisional Government leaders finally agree to women's suffrage.
- April 7, 1917** ■ The All-Russian Congress of Women convenes, in Moscow. The Republican Union of Democratic Women's Organizations (Respublikanskii soiuz demokraticheskikh zhenskikh organizatsii) is founded.
- July 20, 1917** ■ Provisional Government Electoral Law officially decrees suffrage and the right to run for office for all women over the age of twenty.
- October 25, 1917** ■ Bolsheviks overthrow the Provisional Government.
- November 12–30, 1917** ■ Constituent Assembly elections are held.
- November 28, 1917** ■ The opening of the Constituent Assembly, scheduled for this date by the Provisional Government, is postponed by the Bolsheviks until January 5.
- December 6, 1917** ■ Finland wins independence.
- January 5, 1918** ■ The Constituent Assembly meets, with ten female representatives. Lenin and the Bolsheviks disperse the assembly the same day.
- 1917–1918** ■ The Bolsheviks close all independent feminist publications and autonomous organizations.

## **EQUALITY & REVOLUTION**



1. Bestuzhev Courses Main Building
2. Women's Progressive Party Headquarters
3. *First Women's Calendar* office, 1901
4. First Women's Technical Institute
5. Praskov'ia Belenskaia Arian residence
6. *First Women's Calendar* office, 1905–1915
7. Union of Women office (Chekhova family residence)
8. League for Women's Equal Rights office
9. The Solianyi Gorodok
10. Sofia Panina residence
11. *Women's Herald* office (Maria Pokrovskaia residence)
12. Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society
13. Anna Filosofova residence
14. League for Women's Equal Rights office (Poliksena Shishkina-lavein residence)
15. Anna Shabanova residence
16. Ligovskii People's House
17. Women's suffrage demonstration March 19, 1917, start point (Petrograd City Hall)
18. Women's suffrage demonstration March 19, 1917, end point (Tauride Palace)



## The Meaning of Equality

Without the Participation of Women, Suffrage Is Not Universal.

—*March 19, 1917, demonstration banner*

MARCH 19, 1917, was a pleasant late-winter day in Petrograd.<sup>1</sup> The writer Zinaida Gippius looked out from her apartment in the center of revolutionary Petrograd, watching thousands of women march below, “a countless number; an unprecedented procession (never before in history . . .). Three [women], very beautiful, rode by on horseback.”<sup>2</sup> The journalist Liubov Gurevich similarly described “an endless orderly column, with red banners unfurled and placards: thousands, tens of thousands of women, . . . factory workers and women doctors, medics and writers, maids and students, telegraph operators and nurses.” At the head, in an open car, rode the revolutionary heroine Vera Figner and the feminist leader Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein, flanked by “Amazons” on white horses. Two brass bands played “La Marseillaise.” An estimated forty thousand people marched. Many carried banners and placards with such slogans as “Hail Women-Fighters for Freedom,” “A Place for Women in the Constituent Assembly,” “Women Workers Demand a Voice in the Constituent Assembly,” “Raise the Allowance for

Soldiers' Wives," and "Without the Participation of Women, Suffrage Is Not Universal." To Gurevich, like Gippius, the march was unforgettable, "an unprecedented, unparalleled sight" for the people of Petrograd.<sup>3</sup>

Yet this foray by women into the revolutionary public space has been almost completely forgotten, or, if remembered, ascribed to the wrong date or considered to have had "a disappointing, if not wholly unsuccessful, outcome."<sup>4</sup> In fact, the marchers won their chief demand that very evening. To cement their achievement, two days later, leading feminist activists met with the head of the revolutionary Provisional Government, Prime Minister G. E. Lvov. The prime minister reaffirmed the commitment to women's suffrage he had made to the demonstrators on March 19. On July 20, 1917, with the publication of its new election statute, Russia, the largest country in the world, became the first major power to grant women the vote.<sup>5</sup> The March events in Petrograd marked the second time that a significant women's suffrage victory had taken place in lands controlled by the Russian government. Eleven years earlier, in the Grand Duchy of Finland, then a part of the Russian Empire, women had won both universal suffrage and the right to hold elective office.<sup>6</sup>

These major achievements have been largely ignored. Historians of global feminism generally portray the first women's suffrage victories as happening in or connected to the West. Women's suffrage history has mostly focused on the English-speaking countries, more precisely Britain and its former colonies. From this vantage point, early suffrage gains were won "in nations most similar to England." Those preferring a more global context largely argue that women's suffrage first came to states and nations on the periphery, far from the centers of Western power, but with strong connections to the West, such as New Zealand, Australia, or Finland.<sup>7</sup> As part of the West or as part of the rest, Russia is rarely discussed. Yet the history of women's suffrage in the Russian Empire provides a model for a different form of struggle for women's rights. Women's suffrage in this case was not won through a long struggle within an evolving democratic structure, but through a much shorter process ignited and facilitated by popular revolution within a decidedly undemocratic multinational state.

Historians of Russia and the Soviet Union have also paid little attention to the early attainment of Russian women's suffrage. The reasons for this are varied, from failure to incorporate gender into notions of what is historically significant to the remarkable staying power of the orthodox Marxist argument that women's suffrage was meaningless to peasant and working women, since feminism was ostensibly a "bourgeois" movement with only "liberal" goals. If acknowledged at all,

the Provisional Government's 1917 law on female suffrage is mentioned in passing without reference to the global context. Russia's women's rights movement is portrayed as narrow for devoting most of its energies to suffrage, "weak" and lacking militance compared with its Western counterparts.<sup>8</sup> In this book I challenge both the standard women's and Russian historical narratives of this movement. The suffrage achievements of women in the Russian Empire do not fit the existing women's history paradigms. At the turn of the twentieth century, Russia was neither stable nor democratic. Ruled by a rigid autocrat, the empire, stretching across Europe and Asia, was hardly peripheral. A part of the system of European alliances, a major battlefield in Europe's wars, and the first European country in modern history to be defeated by an Asian state, Russia was more central to global events in the early twentieth century than was the United States.<sup>9</sup>

The Grand Duchy of Finland, part of the Russian Empire, pioneered as the first national entity in the world to grant all adult women the right to vote and the right to run for elective office. Paradoxically, by acquiescing to the demands of Finnish nationalists, Tsar Nicholas II struck a blow for women's rights more sweeping than any accomplished at that point in any Western democracy.<sup>10</sup> Many women's historians ascribe Finland's female suffrage victory solely to the Scandinavian liberalism that led to suffrage victories in Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden soon after. The Finns' achievement was, in fact, more directly related to the social upheaval of the 1905 revolution in Russia, brought on by the tsarist government's disastrous defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and 1905. Finland's southeastern border was fewer than thirty miles from the imperial capital of St. Petersburg; the Russian unrest spread quickly to the Finns, who were chafing under renewed Russification policies. A massive Finnish general strike and demonstrations in 1905 won major concessions, including universal suffrage for both sexes.<sup>11</sup>

Women's suffrage, which I define as the right to vote and to run for elective office, is one of the great democratic reforms of the twentieth century. It is the logical extension to women of the rights of citizenship articulated by the French and American Revolutions and over the nineteenth century extended to the majority of men in most Western countries.<sup>12</sup> Scholarly neglect of the Russian suffrage struggle obscures a significant marker in the global battle for women's equal rights. Russian women won full suffrage one year before the British and the Germans, three years before their sisters in the United States, eleven years before full female suffrage in Great Britain, and twenty-seven years before their French counterparts. Winning women's suffrage in Russia took only twelve years. Winning the vote in

Western societies took much longer: It was fifty-one years from 1867, when John Stuart Mill started “the first substantive parliamentary debate on woman suffrage,” to 1928, when British women won full suffrage; seventy-two years from the U.S. feminists’ Declaration of Sentiments at Seneca Falls in 1848 to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment establishing female suffrage in 1920; and 153 years from the publication of Olympe de Gouges’s *Declaration des droits de la femme* during the French Revolution to General de Gaulle’s 1944 decree giving French women the vote.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to the Western democracies, where universal male suffrage came first after long popular struggles, the issue of women’s and men’s suffrage in Russia appeared simultaneously and only in the early twentieth century. Except for a tiny segment of the propertied class, neither women nor men had the franchise until the 1905 revolution forced Tsar Nicholas II to issue his October Manifesto giving men the vote. As the feminist Zinaida Mirovich wrote, up to this point all Russian adults had been “equal in inequality.” When the possibility of suffrage became real in 1905, supporters of women’s suffrage found powerful forces arrayed against them. The tsar and even his most enlightened ministers resisted giving women the vote, fearing their radicalism; prominent male liberal politicians opposed extending the franchise to women, fearing peasant conservatism. Further to the left, socialist parties included women’s suffrage planks in their platforms, but most did not make it a high priority.<sup>14</sup>

The voices of women arguing for citizenship, equality, respect, and civil rights are the often silenced or unheard sopranos and altos of Russia; without them Russian history is largely baritone and bass. Women’s suffrage and women’s rights were very much a part of political discourse in all parts of the Russian Empire between 1905 and 1917. A study of the individuals active in the women’s rights movement provides insights into the *mentalité* of a new social group in Russia, the female intelligentsia, their support networks, their negotiation of public and private space, at the intersection of class and gender. A complex of motivations impelled these women into gender consciousness and political action for their sex and sustained them in the face of derision and repression.

### Feminism and Suffrage in Russia

The hostility or indifference to women’s rights on the part of leading liberal and socialist male politicians shocked those educated Russian women who believed in the progressive intelligentsia’s ideal of egalitarianism. Spurred on by their anger

and inspired by the opportunities created by the 1905 revolution with its loosening of tsarist controls on the formation of political groups, these women and a few male allies formed the first feminist political organizations in Russia. In 1917, after the February Revolution, sparked by International Women's Day demonstrations, Russian feminists acted to achieve their primary goal.<sup>15</sup>

A study of Russian feminism in this period illuminates the different circumstances in which suffrage struggles were successfully waged and in which feminist movements operated. Governments in countries like Britain and the United States were strong and stable, with peaceful transfers of power between political parties. In Russia, however, the first two decades of the twentieth century saw three revolutions (in 1905 and February and October 1917) and four changes in form of government (from absolutist monarchy to parliamentary monarchy to dueling interim revolutionary governments to revolutionary dictatorship). Russian feminists created political organizations and saw those organizations grow, shrink, change shape, and in some cases disappear. Overcoming setbacks, a cadre of committed activists remained involved, adapted to the repressive political climate, and after the February Revolution in 1917 were able to mobilize supporters and lobby successfully for the vote. Suffrage resulted both from the open political opportunity structure and from the sense among many that a new world was possible.<sup>16</sup>

The calls for suffrage articulated by Russian women cannot be understood without reference to feminism and feminist movements. I define "feminism" as both a movement and a discourse aimed at challenging male hegemony in a variety of historical and cultural settings.<sup>17</sup> Feminism is neither time-limited nor issue-limited. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, suffrage became a chief answer to the "woman question," or the question of woman's place in society. Like their counterparts in other countries, Russian feminists had high hopes for the effects of bringing women into the political process. Some argued that women would add greater moral clarity and spirituality to politics; others hoped that bringing women into the public political sphere would force men to relate to women as equals. In the 1905–1917 period, as a political movement, Russian feminism was most closely identified with struggles for women's suffrage and equal rights. The female leaders of this movement were diverse, not linked with one political party or political tendency.

I use the term "feminism" with the awareness that it, or its Russian analogue *feminizm*, is often a contested term, particularly so in Russia. As the historian Linda Edmondson has observed, feminism is the rare foreign word that has not been adopted enthusiastically by Russians. Many Russian feminists refrained from calling themselves or their movement feminist. They preferred to stress their links

with other Russian social movements and to phrase problems and solutions in the common language of such movements. Thus the problem was the “woman question” (*zhenskii vopros*), the solution was the liberation (*osvobozhdenie*) or, less frequently, the emancipation (*raskrepostshchenie*) of women, and the movement was the women’s liberation movement (*zhenskoe osvoboditel’noe dvizhenie*).<sup>18</sup>

When political rights became possible in 1905, neither the organizations nor periodicals that arose between 1905 and 1917 used the words “feminist” or “suffragist.” There were no journals like the International Woman Suffrage Association’s *Suffrage News* (*Jus suffragii*), or French feminist Madeleine Pelletier’s periodical *La suffragiste*, and no organizations with names like the U.S. National Woman Suffrage Association. Instead, the Russian organizations emphasized equal rights (*ravnopravie*), as did the Women’s Equal Rights Union (*Soiuz ravnopraviiia zhenshchin*) and the League for Women’s Equal Rights (*Liga ravnopraviiia zhenshchin*). Although some activists in this period did proudly label themselves feminists, they were clearly in the minority. Others considered it a derogatory term applied to political enemies who were “unfeminine” and equated with the militant and at times violent British “suffragettes.”<sup>19</sup>

Studying feminism and suffrage in Russia encompasses more than notions of political success and failure. The consensus among historians of Russian women and of the 1917 revolutions has been that feminists erred by focusing on suffrage, that this focus alienated women workers. The two major Western scholars of Russian feminism, Richard Stites and Linda Edmondson, have viewed suffrage primarily as an institutional reform. They have argued that suffrage had little relevance for Russia’s female masses. Stites notes, for example, that the feminists winning the vote might have “enriched the democratic process in Russia . . . though the records of other countries give little enough reason to believe this.”<sup>20</sup> Edmondson initially viewed suffrage as a diversion: “But even if one gives feminism some credit for changing social attitudes (including revolutionary perceptions of women), one still has to ask whether feminists did not allow themselves to get side-tracked from major issues by their campaign for the vote, not simply in Russia, but wherever the women’s movement was strong.” She continues to argue that the vote has meant little for women in terms of real power.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the fact that many feminists considered themselves socialists, misperceptions about feminists’ political and class status remain the norm. More than two decades after Stites’s and Edmondson’s pioneering studies, the few Western historians of Russia who have written about prerevolutionary women have largely adhered to Soviet paradigms, in which revolutionary women win praise for helping

to topple the tsarist regime and feminists are scorned as privileged and out of touch with the needs of most women in their focus on suffrage. For example, coauthors Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar, in their generally excellent study of the role of women workers and female Bolsheviks in 1917, are rare among scholars in even acknowledging the feminists' suffrage victory. Yet they quickly dismiss it, arguing that "such gains as sexual equality in politics . . . had little immediate impact on the majority of women who sought more tangible changes in their situation."<sup>22</sup>

The assertion that suffrage was not important to ordinary women is echoed in survey histories. The historian Rex Wade, in his work on the February and October 1917 Revolutions, although more positive about the feminists and acknowledging victories for women in the interrevolutionary period, has concluded that such gains meant little to peasant and working women.<sup>23</sup> Such arguments run counter to recent scholarship emphasizing the importance of demands for political and civil rights among the masses in early-twentieth-century Russia. As the historian S. A. Smith has noted, in 1905 "the dominant political idiom in both town and countryside was that of 'citizenship' (*grazhdanstvo*) and 'liberty' (*svo-boda*)."<sup>24</sup> Russian women's entry into the public sphere and the political arena parallels the entry of other groups, such as Jews and other subject nationalities, professionals, peasants, and workers. Still, the current discourse about citizenship in Russia generally does not include women as a distinct group, despite the fact that a significant part of the discussion about civil rights in Russia from 1905 to 1917 involved the debate about women's rights.

Reexamining Russian feminism and the women's suffrage movement challenges the almost unanimous current portrayal of Russian feminism as a separate and monolithic movement of privileged women seeking rights primarily for themselves. The entry of working-class women into the political sphere is viewed as generally separate from and hostile to feminism, as a force that weakened the women's rights movement. It is certainly true that feminist organizations and independent activism disappeared soon after the October Bolshevik Revolution. Yet 1905 through 1917 mark the high point of Russian feminist activity. During this period, particularly in 1917, feminism appealed to and was strengthened by women workers; ideas about women's rights had an appeal across class, to peasants as well as workers.<sup>25</sup>

Women enter the historical narrative often as anonymous members of crowds. The emotion usually ascribed to them is "angry." And they are protesting because of hunger, "rebellions of the belly," with the line of analysis "elementary—instinctive—hunger," as the historian E. P. Thompson has described it. Histories

of Russia in the early twentieth century generally fit this pattern. Aside from a few revolutionary terrorists (such as Vera Zasulich, Maria Spiridonova, and Vera Figner), and later a socialist leader like Alexandra Kollontai, the most common descriptions of women are as spontaneous participants in bread riots. The food shortages were serious and significant and did motivate women's actions as the war progressed, but to concentrate only on these manifestations ignores other parts of the picture.<sup>26</sup>

Women who entered public space often did so consciously, with clear goals and strategies. In seeking to make such women more visible, I have included an examination of the lives of key women who became feminist activists. Who were they? What impelled them into political participation? What were their patterns of activism? How did their personal choices affect their political activism? What were their support networks? How did they negotiate their multiple roles and identities? Private political disagreements within a family could become public disagreements in public space. Studying feminism and the women's movement offers insights into issues of class and gender, the shifting understandings of these categories, and the intersections of both, especially during the revolutionary periods of 1905 and 1917. As an exploration of feminism, feminists, and the Russian women's movement, this book disputes such dichotomies as feminism-radicalism and feminism-socialism, both of which are based on a narrow definition of feminism. If feminism at its core is a challenge to male hegemony, then by definition it questions the most fundamental assumptions about society and its organization around the family, the basis of patriarchal authority. Feminists have adopted a variety of tactics and goals in the course of this ongoing movement, but their ultimate aims can hardly be dismissed as conservative.

The very notion of women abandoning their traditional domestic roles and entering the public sphere aroused anxiety all across the Russian political spectrum. The specter of separate women's organizing particularly haunted some socialists, both men and women. They viewed the feminist vision as a threat to class solidarity, one that had to be discredited and co-opted. Alexandra Kollontai, the Marxist daughter of a tsarist general, led the charge, arguing that the feminists were "bourgeois" privileged women; their demands for suffrage and equal rights were removed from the needs and desires of the impoverished female masses. Kollontai, the most prominent Russian woman socialist in this period, argued forcefully that economics trumped equal rights, that "the woman question" was, above all, about "a crust of bread." Kollontai and some other socialist women had an understandable interest in attacking the feminists, as they feared their inroads, especially among the female proletariat. A century after Kollontai's polem-



ical attacks, the appellation “bourgeois feminists” is still uncritically accepted by scholars.<sup>27</sup>

This book contributes to the current scholarship about the revolutionary year of 1917 in several ways. I argue for a reexamination of the initial phases of the February Revolution and the conscious role of women in these events. Those who contend that such demonstrations were consciously organized generally ascribe the action to male social democratic activists. Minimizing the significance and attraction of the first socialist women’s holiday and implying that women could act only spontaneously, and were incapable of organizing large-scale protest actions, renders invisible their emerging political consciousness. The February demonstrations were not an isolated eruption. Even the historians most attentive to the role of women in the February Revolution ignore the connection between the women’s actions that month and the subsequent suffrage demonstration in March 19. This march, seeking to extend democratic political rights to women, was a direct outgrowth of the February demonstrations, and belies the assertion that voting rights had no appeal to the working class. The women’s suffrage march in Petrograd simply could not have been of that size without substantial organization and the participation of the female masses.

Russian women’s attainment of suffrage in 1917, *before* the October Revolution, is significant because it represents the joining of two new social groupings, women workers and the female intelligentsia demanding political rights, and the embrace by the two main power centers, the Provisional Government and the Soviets, of the extension of democratic political rights to women as well as men. That the mass of Russian women was far from indifferent to having political rights can be seen from their involvement in the Constituent Assembly elections at the end of 1917. In the face of the difficult conditions of war, the October Revolution, and incipient civil war, Russian women’s participation rates were higher than their U.S. counterparts, who first voted in the 1920 presidential election. Some feminist historians, notably Ellen DuBois, have argued that suffrage is more than an institutional reform, that it must be seen in the context of “an active social movement.” The very process of building a movement and articulating its goals had a transformative effect on the women and men who were involved; this was “the first independent movement of women for their own liberation.” To DuBois, “the cause of woman suffrage,” a global struggle lasting more than a century, “has been one of the great democratic forces in human history.”<sup>28</sup>

Feminism in the Russian Empire was a complex social movement, and more than the fight for suffrage. In all its diversity, it included some women active in the liberal and socialist parties, others who organized a separate women’s party,

progressives who joined no party, educated women, and workers and peasants. Some feminists allied with men, and some, calling themselves “patriots for women,” did not. All agreed on political strategies that eschewed violence, differentiating themselves from the relatively large number of female revolutionary terrorists. Some were what we would now call “difference feminists,” seeking rights but supporting women’s traditional domestic roles; others critiqued the entire structure of male power; still others focused on legal equality. Some challenged traditional sex roles in their own lives—as single mothers, or single, independent women, or married women with their own careers.

Seen in a global context, the attainment of women’s suffrage within the Russian Empire complicates the narrative about the evolution of democratic forms of government. The democratic revolutions of the late eighteenth century were not democratic for women. The leaders of the French Revolution ultimately denied women’s political rights; the American Revolution’s founding fathers did the same. Throughout the nineteenth-century, despite feminist challenges, democracy remained an almost exclusively male preserve. In contrast, Russia’s twentieth-century revolutions both sparked feminist movements and led to women’s rights victories. In the early twentieth century, once it became possible in the Russian Empire, feminists focused on suffrage. Compared with other suffrage movements, they were able to achieve their goals within a relatively short time frame, under conditions quite different from those in Western democracies or colonial outposts. The movement for women’s equal rights in Russia became part of the overall movement for a democratic transformation of the state. It cannot be seen as separate from that larger movement. The women who participated in this movement were generally part of the progressive democratic intelligentsia. Making these women visible is a necessary part of reclaiming Russia’s and the world’s lost legacy, understanding Russia’s rich tradition of female civic participation, and adding greater complexity and nuance to the history of international democratic reform and civil rights.

# 2

## Consciousness Raised

I never suspected that the time was near when I would give many speeches, lecture, write articles, advocate women's rights: political, economic, simply human. At that moment I believed so in my equality with men that it never occurred to me to prove it. Later, when I really came into contact with politicians, I saw with amazement and indignation that much still needed to be proven.

—Writer *Ariadna Tyrkova*, 1952

AT THE DAWN of a new century, Russia was at a crossroads. Any hopes for substantive change with the death of the reactionary Tsar Alexander III in 1894 were quickly dashed. Under Alexander the famine of 1891 and 1892 had revealed the inefficiency of the government and its inability to cope with the most basic of natural disasters. Alexander's son Nicholas II soon denounced "senseless dreams" and reaffirmed the principle of autocracy. But clinging to the past could not stop change within Nicholas's empire. The pace of industrialization intensified, migration to the cities increased, along with the accompanying problems of overcrowding, homelessness, pauperism, and prostitution. The urban proletariat grew rapidly; the number of women workers particularly increased. New directions within the radical opposition included greater attention to organizing industrial workers and a growing embrace of Marxism.

In the midst of this dynamic, where were the vibrant discussions of the place of women that had animated society a generation earlier? When opposition to the

autocracy emerged in the 1860s, the woman question had been a key part of discussions about transforming society. Revolutionary democrat Nicholas Chernyshevskii's *What Is to Be Done* (published in 1863) has as a major theme the oppression of women and has long been considered the ultimate example of the central place of the woman question in early Russian radical thought.<sup>1</sup> But while the woman question when first articulated in the 1860s was considered the height of radicalism, several scholars have argued that this was a transient phase. As the historian Barbara Engel has noted in her study of the Russian female intelligentsia, radical activists "progressed from the women question to broader social issues as they tried to understand the poverty of the peasantry and urban workers and the sources of the vast inequities they could see all around them." This was, to Engel, an inexorable process, and "many altruistic and intelligent women felt that they had no choice but to move from the woman question to radicalism."<sup>2</sup> To the historian Linda Edmondson, Russian feminism was "largely apolitical until the end of the century." In her view, women interested in the woman question chose one of two paths: they "either abandoned all thoughts of structural change and concentrated on preserving what gains they had already made, or they abandoned feminism altogether."<sup>3</sup>

Like other social movements, feminism is marked as much by its diversity and change in response to external factors as for its continuity. Some radical activists did abandon an exclusive or partial focus on women's emancipation; others did not. Some tried to distance themselves from their past radicalism, to work within the system; by far the majority viewed feminism as enhancing their radicalism. Chernyshevskii's *What Is to Be Done?* showed that addressing the oppression of women was a key aspect of the radical restructuring of society. In challenging the status quo, the authoritarian patriarchal system, and propounding a vision of a more egalitarian society, feminists did not monolithically discard their radicalism and radicals did not discard their feminism. Indeed, it is hard to find among the second generation of feminist leaders anyone who did not have or did not claim some connection to the radical groups of the 1870s and 1880s.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, most of the early Russian feminist activists had died or left the scene. For the remaining leaders of the first generation, time was short and the task overwhelming. Nadezhda Stasova (1822–1895), one of the original feminist triumvirate—also including Maria Trubnikova (1835–1897) and Anna Filosofova (1837–1912)—pushed herself hard to the end. A friend had described Stasova as such: "In a feverish state, with flaming cheeks, with hands like ice, so feeble she could hardly move her legs; almost hoarse from weakness,

she toils, works, bustles about all day long.”<sup>4</sup> Stasova had recognized that women’s liberation involved a lengthy struggle that would not be realized in her lifetime. While acknowledging the difficulties of moving the tsarist government, she placed much of the blame on Russian women. Their overall consciousness was still undeveloped; they “still have not learned to stop being men’s slaves. In everything they restrain themselves, are frightened, subordinate. . . . This is bad, very bad! There is much work ahead for women before they will achieve their liberation, many customs to remove.”<sup>5</sup>

Like other feminist pioneers of her generation, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Stasova did not live to see the major changes to which she had aspired. Of the triumvirate of Stasova, Trubnikova, and Filosofova, only Filosofova survived into the twentieth century. She remained active, working with members of the next generation, who took up the cause. The first wave of feminists had concentrated primarily on lobbying for greater educational access and supporting the philanthropic institutions they had worked so hard to create. The younger activists were those who had benefited from the achievements of the early feminists in opening access to higher and professional education. Operating creatively within the limits set by the government and sometimes outside them, women with gender consciousness created organizations and publications that helped develop a framework for the specifically woman-centered political activism that had emerged in 1905.<sup>6</sup>

The writer Olga Shapir (1850–1916) was among those who tried to incorporate both feminism and radicalism in her life and work. Shapir belongs to a very small number of political activists in the prerevolutionary period who were of peasant origins. One of nine children, Shapir was born in Oranienbaum. Her father, a peasant, served as an army clerk, for a while under the Decembrist leader Paul Pestel. Her mother was of Swedish descent. The prolific populist writer and feminist activist, with her Jewish husband Lazar Markevich Shapir, had several connections to prominent revolutionaries. They lived communally for a time in St. Petersburg and had connections with the Kornilova sisters’ circle. This circle included Sofia Perovskaia, later the leader of the successful 1881 assassination plot against Tsar Alexander II. Olga and Lazar were on the fringes of the group led by the controversial and single-minded revolutionary terrorist Sergei Nechaev. Lazar had served an eight-month sentence in the Peter Paul Fortress for radical activity right before his marriage to Olga in 1872.<sup>7</sup>

Shapir’s feminism evolved from her populism. Indeed, the cultural historian Catriona Kelly has argued that at least for Olga Shapir, her “discovery of feminism

in the early 1890s . . . gave her fiction a new sharpness and concentration.”<sup>8</sup> Shapir vigorously defended the revolutionary movement against its critics, especially Dostoevsky in his novel *The Devils*. She wrote her novel *The Stormy Years* in the late 1880s to counteract the “slandorous distortions” of Dostoevsky and others.<sup>9</sup> Shapir’s first work appeared in print in 1879. Thenceforth her stories appeared in many of the thick journals of the day, such as *Otechestvennye zapiski* (Notes of the fatherland), *Severnyi vestnik* (Northern herald), and *Vestnik evropy* (European herald). Her ten-volume collected works were first published in 1910. Shapir’s literary work blended women’s concerns with populism, with major themes of “matters of the heart and the family,” the interrelationship between women and men, and “the aspirations of common people to escape from their dependent position, from poverty and ignorance, and become somebody.”<sup>10</sup>

Shapir’s primary public activity was in feminist organizations. She joined the Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society (Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimnoblago-tvoritel’noe obshchestvo) in the 1890s and was a member of the organizing committee for the 1908 Women’s Congress. Although she was a clear supporter of equal rights, Shapir articulated clearly the concerns of difference feminists in seeking to retain that which they considered unique and praiseworthy about female social roles, such as mothering. In a speech she gave to the Russian Women’s Society in 1904, Shapir fervently hoped that in the fight for equal rights, Russian women did not lose “those specific characteristics of female psychology, inculcated through centuries of familial self-sacrifice.”<sup>11</sup> Self-sacrifice is a powerful motif in Russian history and within that motif female self-sacrifice is especially valorized.

Vera Figner (1852–1942) has been portrayed as a key example of women abandoning their own goals for the cause of revolution. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, among those women revolutionaries who sacrificed themselves for the cause, Figner stood out. Party to the successful plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander II in 1881, she spent twenty years in prison and emerged as a heroine to many in educated society. The first woman in her family to study medicine, Figner was five to six months away from receiving her medical diploma from the University of Berne when she answered the call of the activist Mark Natanson, returning to Russia at the end of 1875 to devote herself to the cause of revolution. It was not, she later wrote, an easy decision. She viewed her medical coursework as enabling her to minister to the health of the masses. Close to achieving her goal, Figner had already chosen the theme of her thesis. It was only after a “great struggle” that she resolved to abandon her studies and return to Russia, “in order that my deeds might not disprove my words.”<sup>12</sup>

Figner may have “altered interpretations of her early motivations as circumstances changed,” but she remained the archetype for female radicals of her generation.<sup>13</sup> Still, others who began as radicals chose a different path, sacrificing to gain their education, surmounting the many barriers placed in the way of women, and in the process becoming feminist activists. Anna Shabanova (1848–1932) was born into a modest gentry family in Smolensk Province. Among the gentry women caught in the economic squeeze after the emancipation of the serfs, Shabanova finished school at fifteen and then worked as a governess, tutor, and translator to support herself. Relocating to Moscow to continue her studies, she joined an illegal women’s radical circle. At seventeen she spent six months in jail for membership in the circle. Upon her release, Shabanova did not move further into revolutionary activity. In contrast to Figner, who abandoned her medical study for the revolution, Shabanova devoted all of her energies to becoming a doctor and in the process gained firsthand experience of the discrimination against women seeking higher education.

After prison Shabanova took the examination for the *attestat zrelosti*, certifying her completion of a high school curriculum. Tenacious and gifted, she won distinction as the first woman to have passed a Latin exam at Moscow University. For Shabanova these steps brought her closer to her goal of obtaining a medical education. Traveling to St. Petersburg, she prepared to apply to the Medical-Surgical Academy there. But despite the warm support of such esteemed scholars as the psychologist Ivan Sechenov, the Academy’s president declared: “Women will enter the Academy only over my dead body.”<sup>14</sup> Tenacious in her determination to study medicine, Shabanova explained her motivation and those of other Russian women as connected to the twin impulses of altruism and independence: “Medical work attracted them [women] because of its service to science and ties to altruistic tasks—relieving suffering while allowing greater independence than other professions.”<sup>15</sup>

Stymied within Russia, Shabanova could not afford foreign study. Finally her dilemma was solved when Helsinki University opened its doors to women. Accepted as the first woman student, she spent two years studying in Finland, then part of the Russian Empire. Further opportunity beckoned in November 1872, when medical courses for women opened in St. Petersburg. Shabanova enrolled the following year; in 1878 she joined the small group taking the first examination for female doctors given in Russia. But this was not the final step. Although all the female students passed their qualifying exams with flying colors, the government did not approve licensing them until 1883, and then only for

practice with women and children. Women doctors did not get full licensing until 1902.<sup>16</sup>

In Russia, leading men of the intelligentsia were especially supportive of women's educational advancement. Shabanova's further career progress was due in large part to the support of the eminent pediatrician K. A. Raukhfus. Shabanova spent her entire professional life working with him at the Prince Oldenburg Hospital. After her first brush with radical activity, she largely kept to legal channels and the cultivation of the right connections. As Shabanova's history demonstrates, early radical involvement could lead as easily to feminism as to revolutionary activity. As one of the founders in 1895 of the Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society, Shabanova was among those responsible for guiding the organization's charter through the murky depths of the tsarist bureaucracy. Serving as the society's president for almost all of its twenty-two-year existence, she became the face of the organization. As conditions became more favorable for open feminist activity, Shabanova steered the society into the political sphere, becoming a key public advocate for suffrage and women's rights.<sup>17</sup>

Many women involved in charitable organizations did not become feminists. Tsarist government constraints about legal public activity by women restricted them to the areas of charity and education. As the historian Adele Lindenmeyr has observed, "charitable activity provided Russian women with an accessible, socially approved entry into civil society." One of the most notable forms of charitable activity were those connected to the Russian Orthodox Church, such as Russian women's religious communities, which provided socially acceptable avenues for women's autonomy. The historian of religion Brenda Meehan has argued for the subversive nature of such communities, emphasizing the radical origins of all established religions, which "always contain at their core a set of values at variance with the values of the world." But generally these communities did not become breeding grounds for political activity.<sup>18</sup>

Scholars have tended to downplay any notion that women's charity and other voluntary work led anywhere. Or, in the case of the extensive philanthropic networks of the period, that "women's charity in Russia was a dead-end street."<sup>19</sup> In fact, the opposite was often the case. Philanthropic activity was one of the paths that led women to the public sphere, in the process providing valuable training in organizing and running meetings, in fundraising, in dealing with government restrictions, in lobbying, in public speaking. Some women, like the later Bolshevik activist Inessa Armand, moved from charity to socialism; others moved from charity to feminism. In the provinces women's philanthropic activity could serve as the main springboard and training ground for feminists. The experience of



Anna Kal'manovich is illustrative. Little is known about her early life. It is possible, given her Russian or Russianized patronymic Andreevna (daughter of Andrei), that she came from a relatively privileged, assimilated family and grew up outside the Pale of Settlement. Jews allowed to live outside the Pale were generally of the merchant class and fairly affluent. Daughters in such families were often tutored at home, receiving a combined Hebrew and secular education, and expected to be fluent in one western European language, usually French, as well as Russian.<sup>20</sup>

As an adult, Kal'manovich bridged the conventional and unconventional. She may have been involved in Saratov populist circles. Married to the Jewish radical lawyer Samuil Eremeevich Kal'manovich, famed for his defense of revolutionary assassins and others who fell afoul of tsarist law, she was the mother of several children. Her early activism was in the legally permitted area of philanthropy and initially focused on the Jewish community.<sup>21</sup> At first, Kal'manovich sought to redress the inequities she saw in Saratov within the boundaries of tsarist law. She began with charitable activity devoted to Jews. In 1893 she founded in Saratov the Jewish Board of Guardians for the Sick (*Evreiskoe popechitel'stvo o bol'nikh*) and served as its president until 1904. Later she also was president of the Jewish Section of the Society for Poor Relief (*Obshchestvo posobiia bednikh*). While in that position, she began also addressing the needs of the non-Jewish community, founding the Saratov Children's Committee. "At that time," wrote Kal'manovich to the Jewish feminist publisher Praskov'ia Arian, "nationalist questions had not yet arisen." Thus Kal'manovich's work with Jews did not prevent her from serving as president of the Children's Committee for five years.<sup>22</sup>

Kal'manovich pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable within the Russian world of philanthropy, especially women's philanthropy. Her forthrightness, willingness to confront male authority, and support for using philanthropy to subvert the status quo can be seen in her work with the Ladies Committee of the Society for Poor Relief. In a January 16, 1903, report at a general meeting of the Ladies Committee, she emphasized that poverty could not be alleviated merely by giving material aid and recounted the results of a conflict with the entire board of the society over the conditions of housing for the society's employees and beneficiaries. The conflict had been resolved with the board agreeing to distribute a questionnaire to provide data for a more systematic application of the society's resources. Kal'manovich also stressed the significance of educational work for the women aided by the society.<sup>23</sup>

At the turn of the century, Kal'manovich expanded her horizons beyond Saratov and philanthropy and turned her energy and focus to more global women's issues, the result, she wrote to Arian, of her activity on the Children's Committee.

She initiated contacts with several leading Russian women leaders, who were also testing the waters about expanding the limits of philanthropic activity set by the tsarist regime. She traveled to St. Petersburg at the end of 1901 and the beginning of 1902, where she met with Anna Shabanova and Praskov'ia Arian and learned more about the Mutual Philanthropic Society's endeavors. As a result of this visit, Kal'manovich invited Shabanova to give a lecture in Saratov, which she did on January 25, 1903. Kal'manovich was not alone in inviting feminists to lecture in Saratov. The feminist Zinaida Mirovich lectured in Saratov in 1902 after A. P. Poliak, another Saratov Poor Aid Society member, had visited Mirovich in Moscow. And the feminist physician Maria Pokrovskaiia had spoken in Saratov against legalized prostitution in a talk entitled "Victims of the Public Temperament."<sup>24</sup>

Kal'manovich's move to an exclusive focus on women can be seen by 1904. In that year she relinquished her Jewish philanthropic activities, handing over the presidency of the Jewish Section of the Poor Aid Society to Iakov Teitel', a family friend and the only Jewish judge in the Russian Empire.<sup>25</sup> She also stepped down from the presidency of the Children's Committee, and around the same time founded the Society for Mutual Aid to Working Women (*Obshchestvo vzaimopomoshchi trudiashchikhsia zhenshchin*).<sup>26</sup> Feminism brought women into the public sphere or expanded the range of their public activity. Kal'manovich's commitment to work for women extended beyond Saratov and beyond the borders of the Russian Empire as well. While many other Jewish activists in this period devoted themselves to international class solidarity, Kal'manovich devoted herself more and more to international *female* solidarity. Aided by her fluency in several languages, she began traveling to and making connections at international congresses. Her first public lecture, on December 2, 1904, in Saratov, a benefit for her newly created Society for Mutual Aid to Working Women, was a report about the International Council of Women Congress of that year in Berlin. In her opening remarks, Kal'manovich frankly acknowledged her nervousness, especially speaking in her hometown, for "*svoi* [one's own] are one's harshest critics." But she plunged ahead, and her talk appears to have been well received; the printed version went through at least two editions in 1904 and 1905. Unabashedly calling herself a feminist and linking with the Western women's movement, Kal'manovich concluded the lecture by quoting the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw, the U.S. suffragist, that "women must together with men serve the common good."<sup>27</sup>

Valeriia (Vera) Nikolaevna Levandovskaia Belokonskaia (d. 1910) was another provincial activist who used philanthropic activity to raise gender consciousness. Part of the populist going to the people movement, she and her sister were

exiled to eastern Siberia in 1879. While there, she met and married Ivan Petrovich Belokonskii, part of the exile community, a zemstvo statistician, writer, and later a founder of the liberal Kadet Party. Returning from Siberia, they settled in Kharkov. All the sources cite Belokonskaia's energy and tenacity, which apparently once prompted a tsarist official to say of her: "She would have made a fine soldier." Belokonskaia helped establish the Society for Mutual Aid to Working Women (*Obshchestvo vzaimopomoshchi trudiashchikhsia zhenshchin*), serving as its president for many years. Focusing on enlightenment and education, the society under Belokonskaia's leadership established a library, reading room, and co-ed school. Belokonskaia consistently remained concerned about women's equality. Her marriage lasted thirty years; it is not clear if her husband fully supported her commitment to women's equality. Her poems containing calls to "brothers, fathers, comrades" who ignore their long-suffering sisters when fighting for democratic rights may have reflected common domestic conflicts of the time or her own specific family dynamics.<sup>28</sup>

Limited to specific organizational efforts at home, feminist activists linked with the emerging international women's movement. For the Russians the oppression of their home country caused them to value especially highly their contacts with the international women's movement. The feminist movement in other countries had often been a source of inspiration for the Russian activists. Generally fluent in several languages and widely traveled, they were familiar with the progress of the women's movements in Europe and the United States, the fight for suffrage, and the writings of feminist authors. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, Maria Trubnikova corresponded with the French feminist Jenny P. d'Héricourt and with Josephine Butler, the English crusader against legalized prostitution.<sup>29</sup>

The 1893 Chicago World's Fair inspired early international outreach by Russian women in that decade. The announcement that the World's Fair would include a large women's section and be the site of an International Women's Congress awakened great interest. Seeking greater visibility abroad, Stasova and other feminists organized an exhibit highlighting Russian women's intellectual and cultural achievements. The project, as well as news of the International Women's Congress, inspired the women. Ultimately this was its most lasting result. Though the cultural exhibit—consisting of sculpture, embroidery, and glass creations—arrived intact in Chicago, the painstakingly prepared display of intellectual accomplishments mysteriously disappeared.<sup>30</sup>

More long-lasting global ties came through the International Council of Women (ICW). The ICW was founded on the initiative of U.S. suffrage leaders

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, when the U.S. National Woman Suffrage Association invited international representatives to its 1888 meeting. Russian women were among those who answered the call to “all women of light and learning, to all associations of women in trades, professions and reforms, as well as to those advocating political rights.” The first and most traditional of the international women’s organizations, from 1893 the ICW was headed by Lady Aberdeen, a Scottish aristocrat married to the governor general of Canada. The council reflected Lady Aberdeen’s belief that “woman’s first mission must be her home.”<sup>31</sup>

The initiative for the creation of a different kind of women’s organization in Russia arose from someone outside the circle of feminist activists, and for ostensibly impeccable nationalist reasons. On October 17, 1893, Anna Nikolaevna Charnotskaia, a graduate of the Patriotic Institute and the wife of an army officer, put a notice in the conservative newspaper *Novoe vremia* (New times) calling for the organization of a women’s society commemorating the fifth anniversary of the royal family’s escape from a train accident. The society was to be modeled on the women’s clubs then popular in the United States. These clubs, dubbed by one observer the “middle-aged woman’s college,” drew their members from the middle and upper classes and combined social advocacy with self-development.<sup>32</sup> Charnotskaia had obtained the charter of the New England Women’s Club, probably from Ekaterina Gardner. Married to an American, Gardner had spent several years in the United States and had joined in an early effort to create an international women’s organization. She became secretary of the International Woman’s League soon after its founding in New York in 1873.<sup>33</sup>

The Mutual Philanthropic Society’s charter—providing for a strong Board of Directors, permitting men auxiliary status as associate members, and committing the group “to promote social enjoyment and general improvement”—served as the model for the first organizational statute of the new Russian women’s society. The society from its beginning appears to have been a stealth feminist organization. Charter member Gardner reached out to feminist pioneer Nadezhda Stasova, inviting her to join and become the organization’s first president. The veteran feminist accepted eagerly. Stasova saw the Mutual Philanthropic Society as a potential training ground for women as players in the public sphere. Four months after the society’s first meeting, she confided to her friend and protégé Liubov Gurevich (1866–1940) her hopes that “the contact between women in our new society will be a useful school for women. . . . Perhaps our society will help them look beyond themselves and learn some things useful for public activity.”<sup>34</sup>

In an indication that sympathizers could be found even within the Imperial Court, support from a well-placed ally proved decisive in winning legal sanction for the organization. Tsarist bureaucrats, probably aware of the feminist sympathies of the new Mutual Philanthropic Society, initially dithered on giving official approval for its charter. The Ministry of Internal Affairs rejected the first version a month after it was submitted, with the suggestion that it be reworked in accordance with “the normal charters of public meetings.” The regulations of that time stipulated that only women’s organizations with some philanthropic purpose or goal could be approved. After a number of revisions and, most important, the intervention of the empress’s maid of honor, Ekaterina Oserova, the charter won approval in May 1895.<sup>35</sup>

In accord with the regulations, the women’s society took as its name the awkward Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society (*Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimnoblago-tvoritel’noe obshchestvo*).<sup>36</sup> Its charter, similar to those of other women’s charitable organizations, provided that the group’s affairs be managed by a council composed of the president, two vice presidents, a treasurer, two secretaries, and six at-large members, all with three-year terms. Becoming a member was not easy. New members had to be nominated by at least three members and then accepted by at least a two-thirds’ vote of the meeting.<sup>37</sup> Besides police surveillance, the society attracted other kinds of unwanted attention. Its first location, near the heart of the capital’s red-light district on Ligovskii Prospekt, intrigued and aroused some men. Challenged by the society’s women-only membership rules, a few men tried to break into the group’s building.<sup>38</sup>

The society, constrained by government regulations and oversight, struggled to be the embryo of a Russian women’s movement. Stasova did not have a chance to evaluate the usefulness of the society. She died on September 27, 1895. The hopes of Anna Filosofova and others who sought to create a genuine women’s club, with the goal of education and propaganda for the idea of equal rights, were not easily fulfilled. The more radical members of the fledgling organization soon left, angered at the changes made in the society’s charter to win government approval and by their resentment at the high-handed actions of Stasova’s successor, Anna Shabanova. Among those who departed were some of Stasova and Filosofova’s closest friends and allies, including Varvara Tarnovskaia (1844–1913), a comrade in the fight for women’s higher education, Nadezhda Belozerskaia (1838–1912), and Ekaterina Shchepkina (1854–1938).<sup>39</sup> Filosofova, although she often disagreed with Shabanova, stayed. But she also was disappointed by the pace of change and, like Stasova, with the behavior of the society’s members. A little more than

a year after the society opened its doors, Filosofova compared it to “an anthill (which) has many external enemies, beginning from above and ending with our bourgeoisie.” What was most upsetting to her was not the opposition of those outside the society, but that “the dear anthill eats itself up. . . . Among us in the Committee there is not enough of what is most important—love.”<sup>40</sup>

Although the society’s beginnings were hardly auspicious, its activities were not wholly the object of establishment scorn, and it fit into the tradition begun by earlier feminist philanthropic efforts. By 1900 the society had about two thousand members. Combining ideas of self-development with more traditional notions of philanthropy, the group divided its projects into twelve sections, each with a coordinator. Responding to natural and government abetted disasters, special committees aided flood and famine victims. It operated a sixty-room hostel for needy educated women, both with and without children, as well as a rooming house, a cafeteria, and an employment service. Its children’s section supplied clothes and linen for poor children, operated a childcare center for women workers, and set up talks and gatherings on the “physical, intellectual and moral upbringing of children.”<sup>41</sup> Those services aimed at self-development focused on two groups of women: educated women in search of vocational training and *damy* (ladies) in search of enlightenment. For the former, the society offered courses in the skills of the new female service class—bookkeeping, typing, and foreign languages. For the latter, the society inaugurated a lecture series. Having exhausted all harmless and neutral subjects in 1896 through 1899, this series faltered and barely survived until 1901. At that point the police closed down the series because of a lecture on Nikolai Minskii’s drama *Al'ma*, controversial for its sympathetic portrayal of adultery and lesbianism.<sup>42</sup>

Among female activists, the Mutual Philanthropic Society elicited varied responses. The writer Ariadna Tyrkova (1869–1962) called it “little more than a club for pleasant intercourse, with a tinge of philanthropy.”<sup>43</sup> The pioneer woman philosopher Maria Bezobrazova (1856–1914), critical of the lecture series that “consists in lectures given by men,” still remained optimistic about the organization and the general prospects for women. “The Society,” she wrote, “having the goal of helping us women move forward, would not do what for centuries men have done, to shut doors to us which we have opened with such difficulty.”<sup>44</sup> Able to travel freely, Mutual Philanthropic Society members attended a series of international women’s congresses at the end of the nineteenth century. M. V. Vatson, Olga Nechaeva, Ida Poznanskaia, Varvara Tarnovskaia, Evgeniia Chebysheva-Dmitrieva, and Shabanova all traveled to the 1896 Berlin International Women’s

Congress at the personal invitation of the IWC secretary Elisa Ichenhauser. Shabanova spoke about the woman question in Russia and about the Mutual Philanthropic Society, and Chebysheva-Dmitrieva about schools for peasants and workers. In the fall of 1896 several society members took part in the Geneva International Women's Congress. Poznanskaia spoke about the social situation of Russian women, and the writer Alexandra Nikolaevna Peshkova-Toliverova (1842–1918) reported about the origins and activities of the Mutual Philanthropic Society. The society's first annual report was translated into English, French, and German and sent to the editors of the journals *Revue des femmes russes*, *Frauenbewegung*, and *Woman's Signal*.<sup>45</sup>

Shabanova was named “special foreign secretary” of the International Women's Congress in Brussels in 1897. Nechaeva, Tarnovskaia, and Ekaterina Shchepkina also attended, and Voronova spoke about the legal status of Russian women. Unable to advocate for political rights at home, society members, on the recommendation of Gardner, sent a telegram to the temperance leader Lady Somerset congratulating her on the successful progress of a women's suffrage bill in England.<sup>46</sup> A delegation of Russian women traveled to the global organization's 1899 London Congress and gave several talks. Filosofova, honorary president of the Mutual Philanthropic Society, was named an honorary vice president of the International Council of Women the same year. Also in 1899, Shabanova was elected chair of the International Women's League for Peace, which lasted until the outbreak of World War I. Shabanova and Filosofova attended the 1904 ICW Congress in Berlin. Until her death in 1912, Filosofova maintained a steady correspondence with Lady Aberdeen, as she sought without success to establish a Russian women's National Council, which could officially join the ICW.<sup>47</sup>

The goals of enlightening and informing women were not confined to such organizations as the Mutual Philanthropic Society. Editing and publishing periodicals by women was not unusual in Russia. Between 1860 and 1905, more than 230 women received government approval for such activity.<sup>48</sup> Although the majority of these periodicals were not specifically aimed at women, the process of financing, editing, and publishing such periodicals pushed women to gain skills usually ascribed to men. Liubov Gurevich, Stasova's protégé and an early member of the Mutual Philanthropic Society, was also an influential publisher. Gurevich grew up in a progressive urban intellectual household and with a mixed social background. Her mother, Liubov' Ivanovna Il'ina, was of the gentry class. The sister of the writer Ekaterina Tsekina-Zhukovskaia, Il'ina encouraged her daughter's interest in literature. Gurevich's father, of Jewish parentage, converted to Russian

Orthodoxy. Iakov Gurevich was a lecturer in history at St. Petersburg University and the Bestuzhev women's higher courses and editor of the liberal Russian pedagogical journal *Russkaia shkola* (Russian school).<sup>49</sup>

Gurevich's literary achievements are highlighted in most surveys of her life; her early involvement in feminist organizations is largely invisible. Yet Gurevich's connection to women's organizations and feminist leaders dates to before the founding of the Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society. In her student days at the Bestuzhev courses, she grew close to Stasova, who became one of Gurevich's mentors.<sup>50</sup> In a short autobiography written in 1911, Gurevich claimed that from an early age she was aware of the inequality of the sexes: "I cursed myself for being a woman, and as a result couldn't go wherever I wanted, couldn't run into the most diverse kinds of people, experience with the very essence of my being all that is the most vital and important in life."<sup>51</sup> Gurevich quickly challenged the barriers to women's achievement, seeking recognition as an equal to men in the world of literature and culture. Soon after she started her studies at the Bestuzhev women's higher courses, she read an excerpt from the diary of Maria Bashkirtseva, a Russian émigré artist who had died young in Paris. Gurevich wrote that she "burned with a passionate love for the dying artist, feeling myself strikingly close to her in spirit."<sup>52</sup> When a serious illness sent her abroad for a cure, she traveled to Paris in 1886, met Bashkirtseva's mother, visited the late artist's studio, and wrote about her experience in her first published article, in the populist thick journal *Russkoe bogatstvo* (Russian wealth).<sup>53</sup>

Soon after returning from Paris, the twenty-year-old Gurevich began frequenting the salon of Alexandra Davydova, where the talk of old populists such as Nikolai Mikhailovskii felt "foreign" to her but where she made a connection with such young and upcoming writers as Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, Nikolai Minskii, and Akim Volynskii. Aided by loans from family members, Gurevich purchased and became the publisher of the 1880s populist journal *Severnyi vestnik* (Northern herald) in 1891. Volynskii was the editor, but although Gurevich was only twenty-five and recently graduated from the Bestuzhev courses, she was the driving force behind the journal. Under Gurevich and Volynskii's stewardship, *Severnyi vestnik* made its mark by publishing modernist writers (Merezhkovskii, Zinaida Gippius, Mirra Lokhvitskaia, and Fedor Sologub) and female writers and poets (Annie Besant, Sofia Kovalevskaia, Lou Andreas-Salomé, Zinaida Vengerova, and Olga Shapir). The journal included many articles about women's status in society and works by populist economists (Alexandra Efimenko) and established writers (Chekhov and Tolstoy, whose wife accused him of having an affair with Gurevich).



As its publisher, Gurevich managed the journal's affairs until 1899, when it ceased publication because of financial problems and the personal hostility of the government's head censor. Gurevich was left with a mass of debts; she later described clearing up these money issues as the "most difficult period of my life."<sup>54</sup> In her autobiographical accounts Gurevich does not mention a significant way in which she daringly flouted prevailing social norms. At the turn of the century she gave birth to a daughter, Elena Nikolaevna. Gurevich did not marry the father, who was probably the poet Nikolai Molostvov. By choosing to be a single mother, Gurevich was exceptional. Almost all the leading radicals of the day, both women and men, were very conventional in their personal lives.<sup>55</sup>

Maria Vladimirovna Bezobrazova (1857–1914), another founding member of the Mutual Philanthropic Society, was already accomplished in her field. Born in St. Petersburg to a prominent economist father and a writer mother, Bezobrazova completed the Vladimir women's courses, studying with such prominent academics as the chemist Dmitrii Mendeleev and the botanist Andrei Beketov. With the way to further study in Russia blocked to women, she studied philosophy abroad, in Leipzig and Zurich, ultimately receiving her doctoral degree from the University of Berne in 1891. Upon her return to Russia, she published her collected essays in a volume entitled *Philosophical etudes*. Her work won commendations from leading philosophers. Vladimir Solovev praised her "great aptitude for philosophical thinking"; Vasilii Rozanov called her an "inextinguishable light." Influenced by Tolstoy, Bezobrazova advocated "removing all material elements from religion, leaving only the purest—the belief in good." She advocated an "ethical idealism," whose roots she found in early Orthodox Kiev.

In addition to her philosophical writings, Bezobrazova penned articles for several feminist publications and remained active in the women's rights movement until her death in Moscow in 1914.<sup>56</sup> Bezobrazova developed gender consciousness and a strong identification with the opposite sex at an early age. She was a real-life example of the "third sex" about which Rozanov wrote. Rejecting sex-role stereotypes and traditional notions of gender identity, Bezobrazova in her autobiography claimed: "I wasn't born like others. . . . I always felt myself to be a boy, a man." Rejecting marriage, Bezobrazova wrote: "I never had the desire to be the type of woman who we all know—one who is totally enslaved. My nature is foreign to such enslavement."<sup>57</sup>

The examples of Bezobrazova, Gurevich, Kal'manovich, Shabanova, Shapir, and Stasova are not definitive. But it is possible to glean from their histories and those of other women in this book that gender consciousness and the motivation

to challenge entrenched social norms did not disappear in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, the foundations of later women's activism were being created. Many of those involved in this early work would rise to prominence in the upheavals of 1905.

### Feminist Publications

As the numbers of literate women grew, so did publications addressing their interests, although for the most part these focused on traditionally accepted subjects, such as fashion, food, charity, and childrearing.<sup>58</sup> Several more "serious" journals for women attempted to move beyond socially prescribed realms, but they proved short-lived, financially precarious, and unable to attract subscribers. It was not until the turn of the twentieth century, spurred by the social and political upheavals in Russian society and the rise of the international women's movement, that a longer lasting and more visible feminist press emerged. Publications promoting full equality for women and projecting their vision of the emancipated woman began to take shape.<sup>59</sup> Feminist publishing was not easy anywhere, even in countries without censorship. In the United States, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's journal *The Revolution* survived two-and-a-half years under a constant cloud of debt and a struggle for advertisers, subscribers, and backers.<sup>60</sup> French feminist physician Madeleine Pelletier's *La suffragiste* remained in print from 1907 to 1919, but at the price of Pelletier losing her editorial autonomy to her financial backer.<sup>61</sup>

Although feminist periodicals were published in other parts of the Russian Empire, such as Ukraine and Poland, I focus on those published in the imperial capital, St. Petersburg, none that far from the official residence of Tsar Nicholas II. Despite government hostility to any democratic rights, and the confiscation of such opposition journals as Peter Struve's *Osvobozhdenie* (Liberation), several feminist periodicals appeared in the early years of the twentieth century. Initiated with ambitious aims, their fates depended less on censorship and more on their publishers' and editors' persistence and ability to win readership.<sup>62</sup> The first was *Zhenskoe delo* (Women's cause), edited and published by Peshkova-Toliverova. The January 1899 inaugural issue featured a survey of the *zhenskii vopros* (woman question) penned by Nadezhda Belozerskaia, one of the founders of the Bestuzhev women's higher courses and an early member of the Mutual Philanthropic Society. Belozerskaia defined the woman question as: "women's striving for the attainment

of human rights, equal employment rights, equal legal rights and the same educational opportunities as men [which] develops together with the growth of culture.”<sup>63</sup> *Zhenskoe delo* lasted one year. In its final issue Peshkova-Toliverova wrote, “The name of the journal and its program were too specialized, . . . in Russia there are not yet readers for such a publication.” Starting in January 1901, she changed the name of her journal to *Novoe delo* (New cause), concerned with “general literary questions,” to attract a wider readership.<sup>64</sup>

A more successful publication advertised itself in the first issue of *Zhenskoe delo*. At the age of thirty-four, Praskov’ia Belenkaia Arian (1865–1949) announced that she would address the needs of the growing number of educated women in Russia to have accurate data about resources available to them in St. Petersburg in the *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’* (First women’s calendar) and serve as their mentor. “The *Calendar*,” wrote Arian, “must help the public activity of a woman and give her guidance, like a mother or a teacher [*vospitatel’nitsa*], to render her a service in selecting books for her physical and spiritual upbringing and a systematic catalogue of children’s books.” Last but not least, the *Calendar* would address the issue of women’s rights, showing “the historical path to extending those rights.”<sup>65</sup> Compiling, editing, and publishing this annual compendium of religious, health, employment, and education information for women every year until 1915, Arian’s enterprise, largely funded by advertisements, proved sufficiently successful to maintain a separate office, at 20 Klinskii Prospekt, for her endeavor.<sup>66</sup> The *Calendar* provided every kind of information to help its readers, including five religious calendars for the major faiths of the empire, girls’ names, information about the Russian Imperial family, the seasons, and even the times for the raising of bridges in St. Petersburg.<sup>67</sup>

Arian also addressed both physical and mental health issues. Each annual contained nutritional advice, pointers about general cleanliness and behavior, and women’s athletic prowess, but the stresses of modern life also received attention. The 1912 *Calendar*, for example, included an article on “Nervousness and Methods of Fighting against It.”<sup>68</sup> The *Calendars* devoted much space to issues concerning the legal status of women, discussing, for example, the marriage prohibition for female teachers in St. Petersburg, bills in the Duma to extend equal rights, and the status of peasant women. All the Russian laws affecting women, as well as sample petitions and the addresses of the appropriate government offices that handled them, appeared in the first three annuals. On education Arian compiled statistics on the number of female and male students in Russian schools. She reported on news from the various women’s higher education institutions as well as admissions

requirements for the Russian courses and foreign universities. For those women who had completed their education, each issue of the *Calendar* included a list of businesses hiring female help (mostly secretaries and clerks) as well as ads for cheap housing.<sup>69</sup>

Seeking to expand the horizons of her readers, Arian recruited a wide range of contributors to the *Calendar*, including the writer Maxim Gorky, Vera Figner, the artist Ilya Repin, and the psychologist Vladimir Bekhterev. She included international news as well, sometimes from her own extensive travels. Working in the archives of Swiss universities, she gathered data about Russian women studying abroad for the *Calendars* of 1899 and 1912. After a trip to Japan, she published articles about the Women's University in Tokyo and the status of Japanese women in the *Calendars* of 1904 and 1905. Russian educated women were often fluent in several languages; ads in the *Calendar* for the Berlitz School of Languages demonstrate Arian's readers' interests in learning more.<sup>70</sup> In addition to providing relatively unthreatening information about education, employment, laws, and religious observance for women, Arian also used the *Calendar* to inform women about the feminist and other social change movements, chronicling, among others, the activities of the major women's and feminist organizations.

Each issue contained biographical sketches of Russian feminists, radical activists, and literary figures, with accompanying photos. The *Calendar* was the only one of the three feminist journals to use photos; these provide a helpful visual record of prominent activists and their activities. Aside from the *Calendar*, Arian's early feminist activity was with the Mutual Philanthropic Society. She did speaking and writing for the society, volunteered in its library, and chaired the committee researching the conditions of women's work in Russia. She included photos of the organization's facilities in the *Calendar*. In 1905 and after, when women's rights organizations emerged to advocate openly for women's rights, Arian featured them. Feminist congresses, such as the 1908 *Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s'ezd* (First All-Russian Women's Congress) and the *Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin* (First All-Russian Congress on Women's Education)—held from December 26, 1912, through January 4, 1913—received detailed coverage. Reports about the international women's movement and its congresses were also a regular part of the *Calendar*.<sup>71</sup>

Arian supported herself as a translator and journalist, traditional occupations for educated Russian women, while also seeking to integrate her work with her ideals. She wrote for a range of publications, including the *Birzhevaia vedomosti* (Stock market gazette), the *Sputnik zdorov'ia* (Health guide), the *Vestnik*

*blagotvoritel'nosti* (Philanthropy bulletin), and *Iskusstvo i zhizn'* (Art and life).<sup>72</sup> Arian initiated her *Calendar* while the opposition to the government was weak and divided. By the time the then-fifty-two-year-old Dr. Maria Pokrovskaiia (1852–1922) inaugurated her monthly feminist journal *Zhenskii vestnik* (Women's herald) in September 1904, social unrest had bubbled strongly to the surface. Three socialist parties—the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, and the Socialist Revolutionaries—had emerged. A liberal progressive democratic challenge to the tsarist autocracy, the Liberation movement, grew in strength especially as Russia suffered a series of defeats in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and government resources were diverted to the conflict. The socialists included women's rights planks in their programs but did not take them seriously. The Liberation movement, although it included many women in subordinate positions, generally did not address issues of female rights and equality. When it did, it was to dismiss or trivialize these issues.

Pokrovskaiia, in her statement of purpose in the September 1904 first issue of *Zhenskii vestnik* sounded notes similar to those of Peshkova-Toliverova and Arian. She explained that she had launched the journal to fill a void. No publication in Russia was exclusively dedicated to discussing the woman question. Pokrovskaiia had ambitious goals—to bridge the gap between educated women and poor women, to end the “constant war between the sexes,” and to create “full equality between women and men in the family and in society.” Urging her readers to dialogue with her, to inform her about women's status in all parts of the Russian Empire, she promised in return to provide news about the women's movement in Russia and abroad.<sup>73</sup> Pokrovskaiia's thirty-seven page inaugural issue, although not of the size of the popular “thick journals” of the time, was similar in its eclecticism. In line with her interests, the “woman-doctor” vowed to pay special attention to “questions of social, domestic and personal hygiene.” Accordingly, *Zhenskii vestnik* had a health section, including an announcement inviting all educated women (*intelligentnye zhenshchiny*) to join a newly formed Women's Sanitary Society (*Zhenskoe sanitarnoe obshchestvo*) in St. Petersburg.

Pokrovskaiia also provided ammunition for those who sought proof of female power, with historical notes about the existence of matriarchy in ancient Europe and about women's participation in war as fighters (the early Slavs) and as nurses and doctors. Reflecting Pokrovskaiia's essentialist predilections, *Zhenskii vestnik* touted women's “peaceful propensities.” To further widen the horizons of her readers, Pokrovskaiia, like Arian, included literature. In the first issue she featured a translated story by the South African writer Olive Schreiner.<sup>74</sup> Pokrovskaiia sus-

tained her journal almost single-handedly from 1904 to 1917, financing it primarily through her modest personal resources and compiling it in her two-room apartment at 42 Shpalernaia Street, not far from the tsar's Winter Palace. An excellent source of information about Russian women in those years, *Zhenskii vestnik* reflects Pokrovskaia's wide-ranging interests. Over the years it covered news of Russian and international feminism, violence against women, prostitution, poverty, class and socialism, campaigns for suffrage and equal rights, free love, sex, and the Zhenskaia progressivnaia partiia (Women's Progressive Party) and its club.

Pokrovskaia's critics claimed that she personified "the unfeminine, nonprocreative, but politically active woman [who] represented the moral peril of public existence" against whom Leo Tolstoy and the critic V. V. Rozanov railed.<sup>75</sup> More than other women editors and publishers, Pokrovskaia directly confronted issues of sexuality, providing for her readers an alternative perspective to that of the male-dominated press on an especially contested theme in early-twentieth-century Russian society. In her review of Anastasia Verbitskaia's highly popular and sexually explicit six-volume work *Kliuchi schast'ia* (Keys to happiness), she desecrated the condescending attitudes of male critics: "Let [Kornei] Chukovskii make fun of Mme. Verbitskaia, but he has no influence with the public, which continues to read *The Keys to Happiness*." Pokrovskaia particularly focused on the ways in which Verbitskaia challenged the sexual double standard: "Today's youth is not satisfied with the morality of their fathers. . . . They reject the double standard as unfair but cannot actualize their ideal. In this situation, they can only allow women the same freedom in love that men enjoy." Men had created the immoral system of prostitution. To Pokrovskaia, "the sexual frivolity of women will never reach the heights attained by the sexual depravity of men. In this respect, women will never be 'like men.'"<sup>76</sup> But in the basics Pokrovskaia opted for equality, arguing that the "sex drive is normal for both men and women. I believe it is equally strong in both sexes."<sup>77</sup>

### Routes to Gender Consciousness

These women editors and publishers were, like many of their readers, from either gentry or assimilated Jewish backgrounds. Pokrovskaia came from the gentry; Arian came from a wealthy Jewish merchant family. Gurevich's ancestry combined both. Arian was married with children; Gurevich was unmarried, with a child; Pokrovskaia was unmarried and childless. All benefited from the activism of the

first generation of feminists who fought for women's access to higher education within Russia. Arian and Gurevich studied at the Bestuzhev women's higher courses; Pokrovskaiia attended medical courses from 1876 to 1881. All were already accomplished in their fields by the turn of the century: Arian as a journalist and translator, Pokrovskaiia as a physician and public health activist, Gurevich as a writer and publisher.

Arian provides another example of the blending of radicalism and gender consciousness. Born to an orthodox Jewish family in St. Petersburg, she rebelled against traditional restraints in adolescence. She avidly read radical literature supplied by the family's dressmaker, one of the female defendants in the so-called Trial of the 193 in 1877 and 1878.<sup>78</sup> Admitted to the physics-mathematics section of the Bestuzhev women's courses at age sixteen, Arian finished with the third graduating class of the courses in 1884. She never took her final exam, however, perhaps because of her political activity. Upon graduation, she was one of the organizers of the daycare center *Detskaia Pomoshch'* (Children's aid) for children of workers in St. Petersburg; she worked there for ten years. Around this time she married Moisei Arian, an engineer. Her new last name, because it is not conjugated in Russian, allowed her to disguise her gender at a time when editors were more likely to prefer male writers.<sup>79</sup>

Arian, Gurevich, and Pokrovskaiia practiced what they preached, modeling the kind of women whom they hoped to inspire in their publications. Such women were politically and socially aware and active, fluent in several languages, knowledgeable about women's status and the women's movement in Russia and other countries, rejecting the confines of traditional female roles. Arian's activist career provides another counterpoint to the commonly accepted argument that activist women moved from feminism to radicalism and that the two movements were quite separate by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Arian is perhaps best known as the initiator and driving force in the establishment of the First Women's Technical Institute. She tirelessly lobbied the government for permission to open what were first called women's higher polytechnical courses (*vysshie zhenskie politekhnicheskies kursy*), did the fundraising necessary to sustain the new venture, hired the staff, and even rented the initial space, an apartment, in her own name. When the courses opened on January 15, 1906, they were the first in the world to train women engineers.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to her work for women's education, Arian remained committed to providing educational opportunities for workers of both sexes. In the same year that the women's polytechnical courses began, she won permission to open

an evening school for workers in the Narva Gate section of St. Petersburg. Further demonstrating the permeability and connections between feminism and radicalism, Elena Stasova, a Bolshevik activist and the niece of Nadezhda Stasova, was among Arian's coworkers. Despite government harassment, closings, and arrests of students, the school lasted ten years. Although she was never imprisoned for her activity, Arian maintained ties with those who had been incarcerated for their opposition to the tsarist regime. From 1907 to 1917 she was an active member of the support group for prisoners in the notorious Schlusselburg Fortress, the place of imprisonment for Veraigner, among others. Arian saw no contradiction between her support for imprisoned radicals and her support for women's equal rights. Nor was she partial to one feminist organization. Retaining her membership in the Mutual Philanthropic Society, she also joined Pokrovskaia's Women's Progressive Party, the Women's Equal Rights Union, and the League for Women's Equal Rights.<sup>82</sup>

Although she had rejected her family's traditional religion, Arian does not appear to have renounced her Judaism. Her general philanthropic work included membership in the professional section of the Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledeľcheskogo truda sredi Evreev v Rossii (ORT, the Society for Artisanal and Agricultural Labor among Jews in Russia), part of the international Jewish philanthropic organization ORT. She was sufficiently connected to the Jewish community that she attended the first anniversary memorial service for its longtime leader, the philanthropist Baron Horace Ginzburg, at St. Petersburg's main synagogue on March 7, 1910.<sup>83</sup>

Maria Pokrovskaia provides another example of a woman demonstrating early gender consciousness and rebelling against traditional sex roles. Born in 1852 to a gentry family in the small town of Nizhnyi Lomov in Penza Province, Pokrovskaia was educated at home. In 1870, at age eighteen, she passed the exam for domestic tutor, taught for a while in a girls' school in Teminkov, Tambov Province, and in 1876 matriculated in medical school. Graduating in 1881, she initially worked as a *zemskii vrach* (zemstvo doctor), treating the peasant population in Pskov Province. Breaking from societal expectations for women at that time was not easy. As she wrote later in *Zhenskii vestnik*, "I aspired to an intellectual profession, in order to save my spiritual being, but the age-old belief that 'woman is only for the family' held me back."<sup>84</sup> Pokrovskaia moved to St. Petersburg in 1888. Russian sources offer conflicting information about her medical activity in the tsarist capital. Some say that she gave up her practice, engaging in laboratory research and writing public health pamphlets. Others cite her as a pioneering дума doctor, working for the city government in treating the urban



poor. Pokrovskaiia's 1903 account of a duma doctor's work, supposedly fictionalized, has strong autobiographical elements.<sup>85</sup>

Impressively energetic, Pokrovskaiia combined research, writing, and medical practice. She began her prolific writing career with a focus on rural health. The impetus for her writing was neither economic need nor literary aspiration, but the appalling conditions she encountered in her medical practice. Her first articles about disease, living conditions, and access to water among the peasants whom she treated appeared in the journal *Vrach'* (Doctor). She authored articles on medicine, nutrition, and public health published in various thick and professional journals, such as *Vestnik evropy* (European herald) and *Russkaia mysl'* (Russian thought), in newspapers, and in the publications of the Russkoe obshchestvo okhraneniia narodnogo zdравиia (Russian Society for the Preservation of Public Health). Her pamphlets included advice on how to keep a clean house, raise children, instill "healthy habits," and understand the connection between hygiene and health. An ad on the back page of her ninety-eight-page 1903 pamphlet *Po podvalam, cherdakam i uglovnym kvartiram Peterburga* (Through the basements, garrets, and corner apartments of Petersburg) lists fifteen pamphlets authored by Pokrovskaiia, most costing between thirty and sixty kopeks.<sup>86</sup> Pokrovskaiia crusaded vigorously against prostitution and especially its legalization through the Russian medical-police inspection system. In pamphlets, lectures, and countless articles she protested against the "oldest profession" as exploitation of women, as the cause of disease, and as the corruption of the Russian people.<sup>87</sup>

Government censors do not appear to have made any attempts to block the journals' publication. In a period when opposition periodicals were regularly shut down or heavily censored, Arian and Pokrovskaiia were able to publish regularly and feature spirited and relatively free discussions about women's status and place in the world. Aided by some easing of the censorship regulations after 1905, the St. Petersburg feminist publishers and editors witnessed and sought to influence one of the most tumultuous periods of Russian history.<sup>88</sup> Each reflected a particular approach to the "woman question," but the publications shared many commonalities. Consciously differing from traditional women's magazines, the feminist periodicals eschewed articles on fashion or food. Presenting an alternative vision of the ideal woman, they sought to bring their female readers into the traditionally male public spheres of politics, literature, and art as well as providing exposure to a spectrum of ideas, opinions, and information about the status of women in Russia and the world. Each sought to form, shape, and reflect the views of an emerging social category, the female intelligentsia, which was their primary au-

dience. Members of this group, already experiencing greater freedom in challenging social norms, formed the next feminist cadre.

Two women sharpened their gender consciousness in struggle within the Liberation movement and in the main liberal political party: Ariadna Vladimirovna Tyrkova and Anna Sergeevna Smirnova (1861–1935). Tyrkova, from an old gentry family, was born November 26, 1869, in St. Petersburg. She was one of seven children. Her father was a minor official and politically conservative. Her mother, descended from the Polish and Baltic gentry, a “convinced woman of the sixties,” was sympathetic to liberal and even revolutionary ideas. Tyrkova’s maternal grandfather, who died before she was born, nevertheless managed to influence her. Rummaging through her grandfather’s trunk, the thirteen-year-old Tyrkova found Lamartine’s *History of the Gironde*, and read it several times, mesmerized by the activities of the French revolutionary “knights of freedom.”<sup>89</sup> Revolutionary activism touched her family more directly. A cousin, Sofia Leshern von Gertsfel’d, daughter of a general and a Chaikovskist, became the first Russian woman condemned to death for her revolutionary activities. Tyrkova had met her cousin but had not been impressed.<sup>90</sup> Much closer to home, Tyrkova’s older brother Arkadii was exiled to Siberia for revolutionary activity in connection with the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. His arrest and exile cost the elder Tyrkov any hope of bureaucratic advancement. Friends and neighbors ostracized the entire family; this was similar to the experience of the Ulianovs in Simbirsk when Lenin’s brother Alexander was executed in 1887 in connection with the plot against Tsar Alexander III.

A student at the time of her brother’s arrest, Tyrkova immersed herself in her studies and her social life, but she could not avoid guilt by association. Her brother’s revolutionary activity led to her expulsion from the Obolenskii *gimnazium* in St. Petersburg as a “troublemaker.” In contrast, Tyrkova’s serious and quiet friend Nadezhda Krupskaiia, Lenin’s future wife and corevolutionary, finished her courses without incident and continued teaching at the Obolenskii for several years.<sup>91</sup> Tyrkova’s closest school friends—Vera Chertkova, Lidiia Davydova, Nina Gerd, and Krupskaiia—chose spouses who represent the varied paths taken by members of the educated class in the late tsarist period. Chertkova married a cavalry officer, later a member of the Russian Army’s General Staff, and a confirmed monarchist. Davydova married M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii, an economist and legal Marxist. Gerd married Peter Struve, a leader of the right wing of the Kadet Party. Krupskaiia married Lenin.<sup>92</sup>

At the age of twenty-one, a year after enrolling in the Bestuzhev women’s higher courses, Tyrkova married the engineer Alfred Borman in 1890. The mar-

riage soon soured as Tyrkova tired of her busy but empty social whirl as the wife of a successful engineer. After seven years of marriage she sought a different direction for her life. The couple appears to have split amicably, with Borman acceding to Tyrkova's insistence on having custody of their two children, Arkadii and Sonia.<sup>93</sup> The act of leaving her marriage liberated Tyrkova but brought with it the prospect of poverty for a woman accustomed to dressing in the latest Paris fashions. Leaving a marriage in those times was a bold move. The twin sanctions of tsarist law and social custom made such an action especially difficult and traumatic. Divorces were rare and legally quite restricted. Aside from the social sanctions, women faced severe economic pressures.<sup>94</sup>

Tyrkova is mum on whether she sought a legal divorce, although she does discuss the dilemma of supporting herself and her children. Tyrkova had no clear way to earn a living, no "profession." Teaching was closed to married women; other professions required long and arduous training; some, like the law, were completely closed to Russian women. Tyrkova chose journalism, which required no professional license or extensive training and attracted other women of similar backgrounds. Around the same time Tyrkova's future nemesis, Alexandra Kollontai, exclaimed to her friend Zoia Shadurskaia: "I hate marriage. It is an idiotic, meaningless life. I will become a writer."<sup>95</sup> But even as a journalist and writer, Tyrkova faced a major obstacle. Women authors had more difficulty than men in getting their work published. To establish herself and earn more desperately needed money, Tyrkova turned to using a male pseudonym, A. Vergezhsii, derived from the name of her ancestral estate. She was first published in 1897, switching to her own name right before 1905.<sup>96</sup>

In *Na putiakh k svobode* (On the road to freedom), the second volume of her memoirs, Tyrkova describes in detail the difficulties of her life as a single mother living in St. Petersburg, supporting her family by earning money as a theater critic and taking any other writing assignments she could find. Her financial difficulties took a toll on her health. When her marriage broke up, Tyrkova felt lost; her personal experience showed her "how difficult it is, especially for women, to establish a balance between the personal and the societal."<sup>97</sup> In her struggles Tyrkova relied on a large friendship network, which among other things, aided her in gaining writing assignments and encouragement in her struggles. She was also helped immeasurably by her mother, who provided essential child care and moral if not material support.<sup>98</sup>

Liberated from a stifling marriage, a single mother barely supporting herself by writing using a male pseudonym, in her autobiography Tyrkova claims that when she was heavily involved with the Liberation movement before 1905, she

“had never thought about woman’s equality. . . . at that moment I believed so in my equality with men that it never occurred to me to prove it.”<sup>99</sup> Yet it is clear that Tyrkova already had gender consciousness. A sense of injustice and a need to represent members of her sex gave Tyrkova her voice before 1905. At the turn of the twentieth century, she felt a new spirit unify the progressive intelligentsia, symbolized by the popularity of the word “constitution” (*konstitutsiia*). “Banquets,” taking the name from the gatherings that prepared for the 1848 French Revolution, became popular. Groups of like-minded people met in dingy restaurants or meeting halls, eating the Russian equivalent of rubber chicken, and discussing politics. Most dressed modestly; the writer E. N. Letkova-Sultanova and Kollontai stood out for their fashionable clothes.<sup>100</sup>

The first time in her early political career when she was moved to speak in public, Tyrkova was already aware of the rarity of a female speaking in a public forum. Called upon to speak at a St. Petersburg banquet, she acquitted herself well and received a round of applause. The applause, to Tyrkova, was “for my courage, the fact that I was younger than most of them, and because I was a woman. Women, really a small number, attended the banquets, but rarely spoke. Even the sharp, quick-witted Teffi refused to make a speech.” Tyrkova marked her real involvement with the Liberation movement from her participation in the demonstration at the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg in March 1901, when she was arrested and jailed for ten days. In 1903, Tyrkova, caught and jailed for smuggling copies of Peter Struve’s journal *Osvobozhdenie* into Russia, fled the country. She did not return until after the proclamation of the October Manifesto in 1905.<sup>101</sup>

Ariadna Tyrkova claimed to have come to feminism as a result of her general political activity. Anna Smirnova, by contrast, had thought about women’s equality and acted upon it early in her life. She was born into a distinguished family of Russian Orthodox priests and spiritual leaders. Her father, S. K. Smirnov, was rector of the Moscow Theological Academy. Her brother was a priest. Smirnova was expected to follow the path of most women in her family. Of her five sisters, three had married priests and one had married a professor at the Theological Academy. But Anna had other ideas. The second-youngest daughter, she received a more worldly education than her siblings. Sent to a French-run boarding school, she early demonstrated her independence, seeking a path different from her sisters. As a close friend noted, “despite her mother’s tears and her father’s threats,” she insisted on continuing her education, studying history at the Guerrier higher courses in Moscow. Refused financial support from her family, she moved out of the house and eked out a living tutoring and giving piano lessons, typical for

poor young gentry women, but a particularly courageous step for someone from her background.<sup>102</sup>

V. O. Kliuchevskii, the distinguished historian and a good friend of the Smirnov family, introduced his Guerrier student Anna to his Moscow University student Paul Miliukov. Kliuchevskii knew the young woman from childhood and adored her; Miliukov remembered him constantly commenting on Anna's good looks, comparing her blue eyes to cornflowers and her golden blond hair to stalks of rye. But romance either with her professor or his student did not interest Anna Sergeevna; she was primarily preoccupied with her studies and accustomed to independence. This intrigued Miliukov; their relationship took on a "comradely character, free from all those ulterior motives . . . which lend a kind of artificial quality to relationships between men and women."<sup>103</sup> Meeting in out-of-the-way squares and parks in Moscow where they could have the privacy to bare their souls to each other, their friendship deepened into love. Anna, torn between her intense feelings and her fear that marriage meant the loss of her independence, finally consented and the couple wed in 1886 with only Anna's family present.<sup>104</sup>

Anna Miliukova's fears about her loss of independence in marriage were justified. She never finished her student work, started under Kliuchevskii's supervision, on pre-Petrine Russian women. Between 1889 and 1898 she gave birth to two sons and a daughter. Miliukov's academic work and his political conflicts left Miliukova with the primary responsibility for their children and lobbying "society" on behalf of her husband. Much of the time she had to do so in her husband's absence. The years 1895 through 1905 were Miliukov's "years of wandering." In 1895 tsarist authorities ordered Miliukov removed from his Moscow teaching position and exiled to Riazan'. From 1897 to 1899, largely as a result of Anna's lobbying, tsarist authorities allowed the Miliukovs to relocate to Sofia, Bulgaria, rather than Siberia. In Sofia the couple became part of the circle of Petko Karavelov, the "grand old man" of Bulgaria's democratic liberals. Miliukova became especially close to Petko's wife, Ekaterina Karavelova. The Russian-born Karavelova, seventeen years younger than her husband, was Miliukova's contemporary and the leader of the Bulgarian women's movement. She introduced Miliukova to other feminist activists as well.<sup>105</sup>

From 1899 to 1905, Miliukov mostly traveled abroad. During his six months in Russia he spent three months in prison. Miliukova actively assisted her husband and lobbied tsarist officials for his release. A friend described her in that period as "modestly attired, resembling a student, with her briefcase filled to the brim with books and other materials needed for the *Ocherk'* [Outline]" as she left home in the morning. Miliukova's assistance was critical to the writing of volume three

of Miliukov's acclaimed *Outlines of the History of Russian Culture*. She did translations to earn extra money. The strains of helping her husband and serving as "the finance minister of the family" showed. A family friend described her as having "the reputation of being a very strict and severe woman."<sup>106</sup> While occupied with helping her husband, Miliukova managed to find time for independent but still family-centered activities, founding with a group of other parents a "free school" for their children.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, the separations placed severe strains on the Miliukovs' marriage, which was further seriously complicated by Paul's womanizing. In 1905, Miliukova's anger at the double standard in her personal life and in public life in general found a political forum.

The women discussed thus far all came from privileged backgrounds and were well educated for their day. Their lives differed and their gender consciousness developed in varied circumstances: among those who chose not to marry and those who did, among those who had children and those who were childless. Consciousness could grow outside of marriage or in breaking free of a stifling marriage. It could evolve in a troubled marriage, or it could be nurtured in the Russian intelligentsia's ideal of the companionate marriage. But even for educated, accomplished, and relatively privileged women, the opportunities for collective action remained limited in a repressive, autocratic society.

Philanthropic organizations at this time brought together women whose politics later diverged. The Moscow Society for the Improvement of Women's Lot (Moskovskoe Obshchestvo uluchsheniia uchasti zhenshchiny), founded in 1899, elected Inessa Armand (1874–1928) as its president. The society's vice president was Zinaida Mirovich (1865–1913). Others who participated in the organization's activities included Emiliia O. Vakhterova (b. 1863) and Maria Blandova. Mirovich, Vakhterova, and Blandova all became feminist activists in 1905 and appear to have left the Moscow Society. Armand held a variety of posts at the society, with time becoming less active. By 1904 the writer Anastasia Verbitskaia (1861–1928) was president, although the society was still using the Armand estate for a women's colony. In the organization's report for 1910, Armand is listed as an honorary life member.<sup>108</sup>

The Mutual Philanthropic Society was the most prominent of the organizations within which the constraints of tsarist laws about women's public activity tested what was permissible for Russian women at the end of the nineteenth century. It proved an important training ground for feminist activists and also demonstrates continuity among the activists who remained prominent in many cases until 1917. Besides Anna Filosofova and Anna Shabanova, of the women discussed

in this chapter, Praskov'ia Arian, Vera Belokonskaia, Nadezhda Belozerskaia, Maria Bezobrazova, Liubov Gurevich, Maria Pokrovskaia, Alexandra Peshkova-Toliverova, Olga Shapir, and Lidiia Tugan-Baranovskaia were named as members in the 1895–1896 annual report of the Mutual Philanthropic Society. In addition, scholars and activists such as the populist Alexandra Kalmykova (1849–1926), the temperance advocate Evgeniia Chebysheva-Dmitrieva (1859–1923), the historian Ekaterina Nikolaevna Shchepkina (1854–1938), and the philanthropist Sofia Panina (1871–1957) are listed. That the society also served as a way station for some can be seen by the listing of the later Bolshevik activists Praskov'ia Kudelli (1859–1944) in the 1897–1898 annual report. Kudelli was sufficiently active the next year to give a lecture about her trip to a rural area that had experienced a crop failure.<sup>109</sup>

While pushing the boundaries, the Mutual Philanthropic Society and other societies of its type still sought government registration as legal entities. But some fought for women's rights outside the boundaries of permissible activity. A police search seeking information about the Koltinskii revolutionary circle discovered four copies of the program and articles of organization of a Zhenskii soiuz (Woman's Union). The immediate impetus for the union's creation typified other exclusions of women from political activity by their erstwhile male allies. The council of student regional societies, at the end of 1896, voted to encourage demonstrations but specifically to discourage women's participation in them. In protest, Ekaterina Dukhanina and Sofia Karaseva, both students at one of the Moscow women's courses, founded the union. The group's ultimate goal, as stated in its detailed articles of organization was "the achievement of women's equal rights, particularly the admission of women to the Universities." Membership was open to "women students and non-students, striving to self-development and interested in social questions." The union organized several meetings, a library, and a mutual aid fund, but by the next year the police reported that it existed largely in name only.<sup>110</sup>

The issue of the development of consciousness is complex but at the heart of studies of social activists, as the historian Richard Stites has noted.<sup>111</sup> By the early twentieth century, gender consciousness was already well developed among many of those who became activists in the equal rights movement and its organizations. Women, largely part of the emerging female intelligentsia, individually broke barriers in the fields of medicine, education, writing, and journalism. They created organizational frameworks that helped support the phase of feminist political activism which emerged as a result of the social upheavals of 1904 and 1905. Thus the second, overtly political stage of Russian feminism had strong roots in women's organizations and in the diverse public activity of those, born mostly in

the 1860s, who became the leaders of the movement. These women had benefited from the achievements of the early feminists. But they also pushed the acceptable boundaries for those of their gender much further. Many of them were accomplished professionals, economically independent, well known and respected in their fields. Such women helped create the infrastructure of organizations, publications, and networks already in place before 1905 to begin the mobilization of women for the struggle for equal political rights.



## The Limits of Liberation

Brothers, fathers, comrades  
 When you sit at the noisy table  
 On the holiday of freedom  
 Proudly lifting your glasses high—  
 Remember us, and look around you!  
 Can your celebration be truly complete  
 If next to you the chains are clanking  
 If next to you, under the yoke of injustice  
 Silent, and with bitter tears your sisters stand!

—*Populist activist Vera Levandovskaia-Belokonskaia, 1910*

IN TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY Russia, political rights was not specifically a woman's issue. The meager amount of political participation possible depended as much on class as on sex. Both female and male property owners could vote in rural and municipal government elections, although the women balloted only through a male proxy.<sup>1</sup> The Russian intelligentsia's commitment to egalitarianism raised expectations that both women and men would equally benefit from democratic reforms. In almost every aspect of the great social struggles convulsing Russia in the last third of the nineteenth century, women were active. They went to the people, plotted against the tsar, were imprisoned, exiled to Siberia, and were hung on the gallows alongside men. They worked as doctors and teachers in rural areas and in city slums; they volunteered to help victims of the famines and epidemics that plagued so many during this time.<sup>2</sup>

War weakened the tsarist government, opening the door to revolution. Russia went from defeat to defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Opposition

forces had been gathering strength for some time. At the turn of the century, moderates, liberals, and revolutionaries organized politically to seek changes ranging from a constitutional monarchy to the complete abolition of tsarism. The Union of Zemstvo-Constitutionalists and the Union of Liberation, established in 1903 and 1904 respectively, demanded democratic reforms and a national legislature. The Socialist Revolutionaries, founded in 1901, representing the peasant majority of the population, favored a Russian socialism in which all rural land became the property of peasant communes. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, founded in 1903, immediately split into two factions, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, both favoring a workers' revolution to overthrow the monarchy.

The spark for popular uprisings that turned the burgeoning opposition into a full-fledged revolution came on Bloody Sunday (January 9, 1905). Fearing a repeat of the French Revolution, the authorities ordered troops to fire on unarmed worker demonstrators led by the Orthodox priest Father Gapon marching peacefully to present a petition to the tsar. Demonstrations of protest quickly spread throughout the empire. The political crisis precipitated by the autocracy's disastrous military adventure and its brutal suppression of a nonviolent demonstration further spurred hopes for a democratic legislature. With the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution, the language of rights filled the air, and women expected to be included. "There was no corner in which in one way or another, the voice of a woman speaking about herself and demanding new rights was not heard," observed Alexandra Kollontai, then a Menshevik.<sup>3</sup> The struggle over women's place in an evolving society in which political rights were now possible occurred in many venues, on many levels of society. As the year progressed, public battles about women's rights were waged with central and local government bodies, within the Liberation movement, and between feminists and some socialist party activists. Largely by their own actions, women won inclusion in the demands for equal rights, especially political rights, from the various elements of the Liberation movement. In the process they further raised government suspicions. On the other end of the political spectrum, they encountered hostility from some socialist women advocating for class rather than gender solidarity.

Initially the government gave mixed signals on women's suffrage. The Shidlovskii Commission (headed by Senator N. V. Shidlovskii), established by the tsarist government on January 29, 1905, was to include representatives of the government, manufacturers, and workers "to determine without delay the causes of workers' discontent." Women workers took the issue of their rights seriously, but any remaining illusions of help from the autocracy in achieving their rights were soon

dashed. In this “first parliament for Petersburg workers” women were permitted to vote but not to be elected as representatives. Confusion about the rules resulted in the election of five women to the commission. Informed that they could not serve, women workers from a number of factories petitioned Shidlovskii, protesting his “unjust” decision and arguing that only women could “explain the oppression and humiliation that no male worker can possibly understand.” The tsar dissolved the commission on February 20, before it ever met.<sup>4</sup>

In the struggle with the government over equal rights, the main existing Russian women’s organization, the Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society, initially was divided. Some members were not drawn to the rebellious spirit of 1905; one society faction was hostile to any involvement in the ongoing political drama. A month after Bloody Sunday, the sixty-eight-year-old feminist veteran Anna Filosofova solicited society members’ signatures on a petition protesting government domestic repression. Greeted by scattered hissing, Filosofova, society president Anna Shabanova, and others signed the petition.<sup>5</sup> Mutual Philanthropic Society leaders were accustomed to working through channels and using their connections to gain concessions from the autocracy. Three months after the government’s promise in February to convene a representative assembly, the Bulygin Duma, the society first seriously entered the fray. On May 8, 1905, Shabanova, stating that “the women’s movement at the present time envelops practically all of Russia,” suggested that the group petition the highest governing body, the Council of Ministers, to include women in the new representative body. This time, no one hissed; members approved the Shabanova proposal and sent a petition to the government.<sup>6</sup>

The tsarist ministers ignored the society’s petition, however, as they did most pleas for reform. When they did present their proposal for a parliament, it was too little too late. The proclamation of the Bulygin Duma on August 6 pleased neither moderates nor leftists. Granting suffrage only to the propertied classes, it excluded the majority of the population and, even with this limited representation, provided for a purely consultative legislature. Lenin decried it as a “sheer mockery of the idea of popular representation.” Paul Miliukov queried: “Is this what we waited for so long?” He commented that the Duma proposal showed that “the suffrage formulation calls forth from society deep disappointment and new energy for the struggle.”<sup>7</sup>

The Bulygin Duma proposal completely excluded women. Stung, Shabanova, echoing her feminist counterparts in other countries, charged that the government sought “to equate women with minors, the retarded, or criminals. This was the

last straw for conscious women.”<sup>8</sup> This snub simply intensified the society’s efforts. Though its tactics remained impeccably legal and confined mostly to petitioning and pressuring officials, the effort proved prodigious. In 1905 alone, society members made 398 requests to zemstvos and 108 requests to municipal governments for support of women’s rights, posted 6,000 appeals to different social and government agencies, and sent 5 governors-general, 80 governors, and 46 marshals of the nobility petitions asking for their endorsement of equal rights.<sup>9</sup> In less than a year, the society moved from reluctance to criticize the government to active pressure for women’s rights. In the process the organization allied itself more clearly with the democratic opposition. Venturing outside the immediate realm of women’s rights, members supported basic Liberation movement causes, endorsing demands for the abolition of capital punishment and amnesty for political prisoners.<sup>10</sup>

The government continued to ignore or reject society members’ pleas, petitions, lobbying, and letters. When, after the proclamation of the October Manifesto, the society’s executive board asked Prime Minister Sergei Witte if women were among those eligible to vote, he replied that the question had not been discussed. At a time when no European country had yet approved women’s suffrage, the tsarist government would not be in the vanguard of extending democratic rights in Russia. Witte, a relative liberal among tsarist officials, personally opposed extending women’s rights. He shared the widespread suspicion within government circles that women were inherently radical, telling his minister of education, I. I. Tolstoi, that he considered them the “chief carriers and inspirers of destructive ideas.” Once women got their first taste of knowledge, asserted the prime minister, they felt obliged to be “progressive.”<sup>11</sup>

The public activism of Mutual Philanthropic Society leaders confirmed government suspicions of women’s innate rebelliousness. The tsarist police began to pay closer attention to society leaders, canceling a talk even by the venerable Filosofova. The veteran of countless battles with the authorities was furious. Summoning up that special kind of indignation that only someone with a sure sense of social privilege can have, she wrote D. F. Trepov, the governor-general of St. Petersburg and a notorious hardliner: “I cannot believe, Dmitrii Fedorovich, that you could consciously deliver such an insult to a seventy year old woman, whom your father esteemed.” The old tactics of lobbying were not working now, as Filosofova angrily noted: “A. N. Shabanova and I have in every way acted legally, and for that reason we are startled by your disbelief and lack of respect for us, which is, of course, undeserved.”<sup>12</sup> Personal connections made no difference, however; within Russia the tsarist government would continue to stonewall.

For a time the government and the opposition agreed on limiting suffrage, although for very different reasons. Within the left-liberal Liberation movement, the meaning of the term “universal suffrage” was hotly contested. Previous democratic revolutions, most notably the French and the American, had reserved voting rights only for men. In the nineteenth century the definition of suffrage expanded to include more men but not women. Many members of the Liberation movement adhered to the common Western understanding of democracy at that time, often using women’s supposed conservatism as their rationale for denying them political rights. To those on the right, women were too radical; to those on the left they were too traditional. Either way, male politicians agreed among themselves that women were dangerous and unpredictable, better left outside the sphere of politics.<sup>13</sup> Demands for “universal suffrage” raised at the liberal banquets and zemstvo assemblies in 1904 and 1905 generally did not mention women. Women did attend banquets, although not in large numbers.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes women’s attempts merely to attend these functions encountered resistance. In Saratov the feminist Anna Kal’manovich was told that women were “excess, unnecessary ballast” at the banquets. By the end of 1904 a few Liberation banquets had approved resolutions favoring full universal suffrage, but most attempts to include female suffrage in the platforms of liberal banquets, rural assemblies, and unions of workers, peasants, and professionals were met with smirks, shrugs, cold stares, or patronizing explanations about their “untimeliness.”<sup>15</sup>

The writer Liubov Gurevich described one such exchange between a woman and her male comrades at the Liberationists’ March 1905 congress:

And what’s your stand on women’s suffrage? How will you vote?  
 What do you mean? Do you think I would vote against? That would be awfully low.  
 Oh, come on. You’re not serious?—and, again, they laugh.<sup>16</sup>

The socialists were the first Russian political parties to call for women’s right to vote. Before the outbreak of revolution, the Social Democrats included women’s suffrage in their 1903 platform, as did the Socialist Revolutionaries in their 1904 platform. But even the socialists, despite their platform pronouncements, were unresponsive. In practice, they paid little attention to the so-called woman question, evading it, complained Gurevich, “with inappropriate half-smiles and grins.”<sup>17</sup>

The first women’s political group devoted to achieving equal rights appeared soon after Bloody Sunday. With the tsarist government in disarray, the old rules about women’s organizations no longer applied and women, like other groups,

could now advocate for political rights. Those who founded the new political organizations included members of the Mutual Philanthropic Society, graduates of the Bestuzhev and other women's higher courses, activists in the Liberation movement, literary and cultural figures, and physicians; they were mostly part of the female intelligentsia. These women had worked alongside men and deeply believed in and experienced the notion of comradely, equal partnership articulated by the generation of the 1860s. Frustrated with the response from local governments, liberals, professional and workers' organizations, and the left parties, a small group of *intelligentki*, mostly from Moscow, about thirty women in all, resolved in late February 1905 to organize separately and fight for women's rights. Maria Chekhova (1866–1937) was one of the leaders of the group. Her eldest daughter Ekaterina (b. 1891) described this circle as including “the woman of letters L. Ia. Gurevich, the woman historian E. N. Shchepkina, the lawyer Luchinskaia from Siberia, Liudmila Ruttsen from Kursk, Z. S. Sokolova, [Stanislavskii's sister], the writer Cholovskaia, the doctor of philosophy V. M. Nevezhina, Maria Blandova, Lenskaia, Sumbatova (Iuzhina). Those were the Muscovites. S. M. Zelinskaia (now Lunacharskaia) came from Kiev.”<sup>18</sup>

Borrowing from the Liberation movement, they chose a union as their organizational model, calling themselves the Women's Equal Rights Union (*Soiuz ravnopraviiia zhenshchin*).<sup>19</sup> There were other inspirations as well, reflecting connections with the international suffrage movement. The suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst had formed the militant English Women's Social and Political Union in 1903; in 1904 suffragists broke with the International Council of Women (ICW) to form the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA). Among those attending the IWSA conference in Berlin was early Equal Rights Union member Kal'manovich.<sup>20</sup> The Women's Equal Rights Union grew quickly. Saratov women were the next to form a chapter; by the time of the Union's First Congress May 6–10, in Moscow, chapters from nineteen towns sent over seventy delegates.<sup>21</sup> The first issue discussed by members of the fledgling group involved its stance and position amid the intense social and political currents swirling in the Russia of 1905. As the writer Zinaida Mirovich framed it, should the Union focus exclusively on “feminist goals,” only on the struggle for women's rights, or should it “choose a wider path, and join with the general liberation movement?” The vast majority of the founders chose the latter, identifying directly with the Liberation movement and consciously using the term “women's liberation” rather than “feminist.” This insistence on joining with and struggling with men would be a hallmark of this wing of the women's rights movement.<sup>22</sup>

Identification with the Liberation movement was strategic as well as idealistic. The Liberationists' chief organization, the Union of Unions, was the largest and most visible segment of the opposition. If its members endorsed women's rights, this would greatly strengthen the prospects for winning women's suffrage in the upcoming Duma. Linking with the tradition of radical opposition to the tsarist order, Women's Union leaders took as role models Russia's female revolutionary martyrs. They were heirs, in the words of Mirovich, to the legacy of "the hundreds and thousands of women subjected to the torments of prison life, who died in exile; many tortured to death, others shot. And thanks to these countless victims, Russian women—social activists—in relation to men occupied an exceptional position compared with women in other countries: the position of sister-comrade on life's path."<sup>23</sup>

Women of various political allegiances conflicted, but they also coexisted in the Women's Union. The borders between feminists and socialists were quite permeable. The Kadets Anna Miliukova and Liudmila Ruttsen attended meetings with the Socialist Revolutionary Olga Akimovna Vol'kenshtein, the Menshevik Margarita Margulies, and the Bolshevik Anna Gurevich (b. 1878). The Socialist Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, and some Bolsheviks viewed work in all the unions as a means of creating a broad-based democratic coalition.<sup>24</sup> Olga Vol'kenshtein and Liubov Gurevich were among the most active members of the left wing of the Women's Union. Although they accepted the necessity of a separate organization advocating female rights, they consistently sought to direct efforts toward recruitment of more working-class and peasant women and closer ties with the left. Vol'kenshtein was the author of several simply written pamphlets on the need for full universal suffrage. At the 1906 IWSA Congress in Copenhagen, she stressed that in order to succeed, women's movements in all countries had to be "thoroughly democratized."<sup>25</sup>

Gurevich particularly emphasized pressuring the Social Democrats for more concerted action in support of women's rights, arguing for creating "a close tie between the woman question and the revolutionary movement. If we put aside the woman question unresolved, we leave a loophole for reaction." Winning over the socialists to active support for women's rights would not be easy, for no Russian Marxist matched August Bebel, who "did not fear the woman question as do the Russian Social Democrats."<sup>26</sup> Gurevich proudly proclaimed herself a feminist, for the woman question was a "general revolutionary question, a question of the success or failure of the entire Russian liberation movement." She criticized those, even within the Women's Union, who persisted in viewing women's rights as a

narrow issue, chiding members for their reluctance to label themselves as feminists. In her view logic and arguments about the woman question needed to be more developed and attention paid to drawing the masses of women, “still not fully mature,” into political activity.<sup>27</sup>

Actual Women’s Union activity in 1905 and 1906 can be divided into three areas: propaganda, recruitment, and lobbying. It was a time of tremendous excitement. “Everywhere,” wrote the educator Emilia Vakhterova, “life seethed as in a steaming kettle.”<sup>28</sup> Countless public meetings, some drawing crowds up to five thousand, were held, and petition campaigns organized. The Union’s publishing committee proposed to issue pamphlets and leaflets on “all questions connected with the equalization of women’s rights with those of men.” These included women’s rights in the platforms of the political parties, women and the law, women and the Church, women in social movements, and “the ideals of motherhood and the family in the spirit of equality.” Pamphlets by Gurevich, Olga Kaidanova, Kal’manovich, Mirovich, Ekaterina Shchepkina, and Olga Vol’kenshtein were distributed through Women’s Union chapters.<sup>29</sup>

Feminist involvement could strengthen intergenerational bonds. Ekaterina Chekhova testified to her own awakening as she joined with her mother Maria in challenging the status quo and advocating for women’s rights. She remembered that “as a fourteen year old girl I participated in a marvelous event: the organization of the all-Russian Union. I was in the very laboratory of that work. I had the thrilling feeling that we, my mother and I, had touched the wheels of history. I say we because I was my mother’s ardent helper in this work.”<sup>30</sup> Ekaterina handled Union mailings and correspondence. Rising early, she trudged around Moscow, mailing meeting notices in different parts of the city to avoid attracting the attention of the authorities. She sorted and answered letters, and sent brochures around the country, reading all the literature “from cover to cover.”<sup>31</sup>

For the Chekhovs work in the Equal Rights Union was an integral part of acting on their progressive ideals. Both from gentry backgrounds, they were from families already part of the urban professional class. Nikolai Chekhov (1865–1947) was the son of a St. Petersburg physician, homeschooled by his mother. Maria Argamakova was raised in a large extended gentry family in St. Petersburg. Both her maternal and paternal grandfathers were teachers, as was her father, Alexander Pavlovich Argamakov, an instructor at St. Petersburg’s First Military *gimnazium*. Argamakova spent much of her childhood on her family’s country estate.<sup>32</sup> Moving to more formal education, she attended *gimnaziia* and then teachers’ courses, graduating in 1886. She majored in mathematics and established her own school in 1889.<sup>33</sup>



In 1890, Argamakova married fellow educator Chekhov.<sup>34</sup> Maria and her husband, Nikolai Chekhov, appear to have approached the Russian intelligentsia ideal of the companionate marriage. As their daughter Ekaterina observed, “always and in everything they went hand in hand.”<sup>35</sup> Both were close to the populists connected to the journal *Russkoe bogatstvo* (Russian wealth). Although in principle she was opposed to the government, Maria Chekhova considered herself generally politically uninformed.<sup>36</sup> Like many in the progressive intelligentsia, the Chekhovs lived like nomads, subject to the “political oppression, administrative constraints, clashes with conservative authorities.”<sup>37</sup> From 1890 until 1904 they resided in several regional towns and cities, ministering to victims of the 1891 famine, establishing day and Sunday schools. During that time Maria gave birth to seven children; five survived to adulthood.<sup>38</sup> Moving to Moscow in 1904, the couple taught at the Prechistenskie courses, the first Russian “Workers University.” Chekhova helped organize the first Moscow Children’s Club for workers’ children. Nikolai was the only man on the Central Bureau of the Equal Rights Union, and edited its *Bulletin*; Maria was the Union’s secretary.<sup>39</sup> But even in the Chekhovs’ companionate marriage, gender issues defined Chekhova’s political choices more than those of her husband. Although she was active in the Liberation movement, as it became clear that women’s rights was not automatically to be included on the agenda of many of the newly formed unions, Chekhova allied herself with the women’s movement, refusing on principle to join any other political organization until the issue of equal rights was resolved.<sup>40</sup>

The women drawn into the Equal Rights Union were transformed by their activity, quickly gaining significant political skills. While many of the leaders had organizational and public-speaking experience, the overwhelming majority of the rank and file were, wrote Ekaterina, “alien to social questions, distant from them.” They came to the union with their “specific women’s perspective,” and for them the union was a “real social school,” where they learned “how to organize meetings, conferences, prepare talks, their first public speeches.”<sup>41</sup> The Equal Rights Union expanded rapidly; by the end of the year its membership was estimated to be eight thousand. Ekaterina witnessed the “magical spontaneous growth of the Union.” One day the packages of union materials she addressed “were ten, within a week twenty, a month later two hundred.”<sup>42</sup> On May 7, when the First Organizational Congress convened in Moscow, more than three hundred women jammed the assembly hall: a sizable crowd was turned away. Anna Miliukova chaired the gathering. The speakers, representing a cross section among activists—including Mirovich and Shchepkina from Moscow, Liudmila Ruttsen from Kursk, Olga Kaidanova from Tver’, and Pokrovskaia from St. Petersburg—emphasized the need

for equality with men in all areas of life. Highlighting the goal of uniting women from all classes in the fight for equal rights, other speakers focused on the situation of paid women workers, including schoolteachers, artisans, servants, and factory workers. This was a gathering of urban representatives; no speaker specifically addressed the plight of peasant women.<sup>43</sup>

The congress's main business involved approval of a charter and a platform. The preamble to the Women's Union platform stated quite clearly that "the struggle for women's rights is a part of the struggle for the political liberation of Russia." The platform reflected the twin goals of women's suffrage and equal rights. On equal rights it called for protective legislation and compulsory insurance for paid women workers, admission to all areas of social and state service, equal rights for peasant women in all future agrarian reforms, equality for married women, equal rights for all women "without any limitations on the rights of married women," labor protection for women workers and mandatory insurance on a par with male workers, opening all areas of the public and service sectors to women, coeducation, and the abolition of all prostitution laws "degrading to the human dignity of women" (in other words, an end to legalized prostitution through the medical inspection system and an end to the "yellow ticket," the special passport for prostitutes). Addressing the peasant majority of the country, the Union demanded equal rights for peasant women in all future agrarian reforms. It called for election of a constituent assembly through universal female and male suffrage. On suffrage, the Union adhered to the standard Liberationist "four-tailer" (*chetyrekhovostka*)—universal, direct, equal, and secret—with the clarifying three wags (without regard to sex, nationality, and religion). The platform also contained standard Liberationist demands for civil rights, the abolition of capital punishment, and national autonomy. Membership was open to women and men.<sup>44</sup>

In terms of organization, the charter stipulated a Central Bureau at the top, local committees and local bureaus in the middle, and local chapters at the base. Central Bureau members were elected for one-year terms at general meetings attended by delegates from all chapters. They were completely accountable to the general meetings, which made policy decisions for the Union as a whole. In practice, the injunction to make policy at the general meetings proved difficult. Debate at these gatherings, long and lively, was often inconclusive. The structure itself was cumbersome. Events did not wait for delegates to assemble from all over Russia. The chapters had considerable local autonomy and reflected a range of political perspectives. This loose coalition was united by the common belief in the need for a separate organization devoted to female equality.<sup>45</sup> The organization allowed

individual branches a great deal of independence within the framework of support for “general political liberation.”<sup>46</sup> As a result, some branches were dominated by Kadets, some by socialists of various stripes, some by populists, and some were unaffiliated, although all were within the left-liberal to socialist spectrum. The emphasis on close ties with the Liberationists aroused debate at the congress. Some members wanted to eschew any ties to the Liberation movement and concentrate solely on women’s rights. These separatists soon lost their efforts to control the direction of the Union. Socialists seeking a more explicit tie to their revolutionary agenda also lost out at this congress. They were unable to win passage of a resolution linking the liberation of women to the abolition of the class structure.<sup>47</sup>

Although most Union members were *intelligentki*, efforts were also made to recruit peasant and working-class women. Several peasant women’s groups were organized in Moscow and Voronezh provinces. A Union member wrote that “the great majority, almost all, old and young peasant women warmly support the idea of women’s equality.” Village women, she noted, thought the arguments of scholars against female suffrage simply stupid and the idea of proxy votes by males laughable. “As if they thought about *baby*,” commented one woman.<sup>48</sup> In other areas the response was less favorable; nevertheless, Union organizers devoted themselves to “raising the general political consciousness of the peasant woman and explaining the necessity of a change in their position in a future government structure.”<sup>49</sup>

Contrary to popular stereotypes about the misogyny of male peasants, the feminists found a more favorable reception overall from peasant men than from the professors in the Liberation movement. At the founding congress of the Peasant Union in October 1905, the majority of delegates voted to support women’s suffrage, explaining their decision with a statement declaring that “since we don’t exclude women from using the land, it makes no sense to deny them political rights.”<sup>50</sup> Mirovich commented: “Here, in contrast to educated circles, the question of women’s rights was raised and resolved directly and simply.”<sup>51</sup> In fact, many Peasant Union members were *intelligenty*; a number were also Teachers Union members. The two groups often worked hand in hand.<sup>52</sup> Women’s Union organizers sometimes joined the Peasant Union and teamed up with Peasant Union agitators to talk about equal rights. Many village schoolteachers sympathized with the feminists and aided these efforts.<sup>53</sup>

Women workers, themselves often barely out of the villages, also responded, attending feminist meetings and inviting Equal Rights Union agitators to their factories. In a number of cities, including Ekaterinoslav and Moscow, proletarian

women's groups formed. But although women worker groups arose easily and quickly, they also disintegrated quickly. Reporting to the Women's Union's Third Congress (held May 21–24, 1906), one activist noted that “the Union was a first step on the road to political activity for those women workers who joined it,” but once their political consciousnesses were raised, such women soon affiliated with and began working for one of the left political parties.<sup>54</sup>

Many party-affiliated socialists, both women and men, remained hostile to the idea of separate organizing of women workers. Vera Zasulich, then a Menshevik, typified this view, arguing that special work among proletarian women was “unnecessary, if not harmful.” Kollontai, also at that time a Menshevik, took the opposite tack. The staunchest advocate for organizing women workers, she was a whirlwind of activity, addressing numerous public meetings, attempting to organize a bureau for women workers, and encouraging the opening of socialist clubs for the female proletariat. But her first attempt to have a meeting of women workers sanctioned by the party's Petersburg committee exemplified her own comrades' hostility. Although party officials had promised to provide a meeting place, when Kollontai and several workers arrived, they found a sign on the door reading: “The meeting *for women only* has been cancelled. Tomorrow, there will be a meeting *for men only*.”<sup>55</sup>

Some women workers resisted socialist party recruitment efforts. A group from Moscow's Andreev factory requested that the local branch of the Women's Union send some feminist agitators, as the party ones had proved “too severe.” Sometimes party organizers worked with feminists, again showing how the boundaries between socialists and feminists were far more permeable than is typically portrayed. In one case a male Social Democrat organizing women workers used feminist literature and received help and advice from the Women's Union. The feminists also changed their tactics for spreading their message among women workers. Abandoning efforts to form groups, they found greater success with general propaganda efforts, such as talks at Sunday schools, workers' courses and individual factories, work at cafeterias and soup kitchens, and signature gathering for petitions.<sup>56</sup>

Factory workers were not the only workers to respond to feminist ideas. In 1905 servants were the largest group of paid workers in Russia. A group of maids in Moscow approached the Union for help in organizing, and Moscow branch members helped to establish a servants' union. Servants' organizations were also formed in Vladimir, Penza, Saratov, and Kharkov. S. K. Ispolatova, a member of the Women's Union Central Bureau, reported that her cook, also a Union member, organized servants' meetings, usually held in her kitchen and led by Ispolatova.<sup>57</sup>

Ispolatova's description of her cooperation with her cook indicated the difficulties of transcending class barriers. The servants' meetings proved quite successful, but when they grew too large, they were moved to the back staircase. Servants' meetings remained in the servants' quarters.<sup>58</sup>

As with the factory workers, feminists and Social Democrats fought for the allegiance of domestic servants.<sup>59</sup> In Kharkov the local Women's Union chapter organized a special committee to study the situation of servants. The Social Democrats felt forced to respond. To point out the "unacceptability of a project worked out with the close participation and leadership of their employers," the Kharkov Social Democrats called special servants' meetings. At these meetings the servants developed their own proposal, including a minimum wage, a standard working day, and a day off. The majority of servants welcomed this project; feminists were, according to the hardly unbiased Kollontai, "disappointed."<sup>60</sup>

Demands for equal rights could not dissolve other differences among women. On November 18, 1905, a group of women railway workers in Vilna Province, identifying themselves as Equal Rights Union members, sent a statement to a local newspaper in support of a postal and telegraph workers' strike. They reserved their harshest criticism for women who did not support the strike, seeking to shame them into unity with the strikers on both class and gender grounds: "Shame on all those, particularly women, who out of cowardice, obsequiousness, and paltry personal advantage, go against their comrades," they wrote. The workers held to the ideals of gender unity. For them lack of solidarity was a betrayal of the Liberation movement, "which alone can give to us women in the future the human and civil rights of which we are presently deprived."<sup>61</sup>

The conflict between feminists and some party-affiliated socialists played out in public meetings, where feminists had to hold their own against socialist hecklers. Anna Kal'manovich had considerable experience in participating in meetings, running organizations, and confronting male authority, and she had important connections to activists in the two major cities of Russia. When the 1905 Revolution made open political organizing possible, Kal'manovich helped organize one of the "first mass meetings of women in Russia's history," in Saratov under the auspices of the Society for Mutual Aid to Working Women.<sup>62</sup> The meeting was a precursor of other meetings throughout Russia, with heated conflicts between those socialists who insisted on class solidarity and feminists who supported gender unity. Heatedly defending feminists from the accusation that they were all bourgeois, Kal'manovich shouted against her hecklers: "Whistling, this is not a refutation! Who wants to show that I am not right—refute with

words. But whistles and catcalls, shutting someone up—leave this to the Black Hundreds.” Further, Kal’manovich argued, so-called bourgeois women with their philanthropic, educational, and political activity had done much of use to women workers.<sup>63</sup>

Bolshevik party committees deliberately ordered their members to disrupt feminist meetings. The Bolshevik E. V. Nagurskaia-Kopylova bragged in her memoirs of succeeding in wrecking a Women’s Union meeting in Voronezh. But despite Bolshevik efforts, the Voronezh chapter proved the most active in the Black Earth region. The chapter, formed on December 4, 1905, by twenty-eight women, declared that its members considered it “their holy duty to ease the plight of those in Voronezh engaged in active struggle with the autocracy.” Union members organized a shelter and cafeteria for the children of striking workers, which quickly expanded to include the workers themselves, and soon transformed into a club. By the spring of 1906 the chapter’s Union membership had almost doubled, to fifty-two.<sup>64</sup>

Some party-affiliated socialists sought different means to recruit women. In St. Petersburg, a group that had splintered off from the local branch of the Women’s Union formed Women’s Political Clubs in April 1906. Many of these women were Social Democrats; both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks joined. Disgusted by the partisan infighting within the Union, they wanted to establish groups without a specific party line. Participation by Socialist Revolutionaries, Kadets, nonparty socialists, and the unaffiliated was encouraged. Four such clubs, in different areas of the imperial capital, organized lectures and activities aimed at organizing workers. Dues were minimal, to attract the female proletariat. Meetings were frequent, often weekly, with lectures on such women’s topics as equal rights and Finnish women’s suffrage, but also on such subjects of general concern as the outbreak of pogroms. Duma representatives, especially the Trudoviks, often attended and reported on their activities. At their height the Women’s Political Clubs attracted many workers.

The clubs also cultivated connections with Finnish activists. Russian representatives attended the socialist women’s meeting in Vyborg that nominated the first female candidates to the Finnish Parliament. The cofounder and president of the First Women’s Political Club was Margarita Margulies-Aitova, a Menshevik, and one of many doctors active in the women’s movement. A graduate of a French medical school, Margulies-Aitova worked for a number of years at the Pasteur Institute before moving to St. Petersburg and accepting a position as a bacteriologist at the Women’s Medical Institute. Her tenure as president of the Political Club

proved short-lived; the police closed the clubs right after the dissolution of the First Duma in the summer of 1907.<sup>65</sup>

While many tsarist officials suspected feminists of being stealth revolutionaries, some socialists accused the feminists of being on the contrary “bourgeois.” Alexandra Kollontai was most visible in condemning the “bourgeois feminists” as elitist and a threat to working-class solidarity.<sup>66</sup> Her accusations were part of a bitter campaign to challenge the legitimacy of an autonomous feminist movement, a campaign that still has resonance today. How true was Kollontai’s characterization? Were the Russian feminists bourgeois by any of the accepted definitions? What were their socioeconomic backgrounds and what were their politics?<sup>67</sup> If the definition of “bourgeois” means a woman whose primary career is managing a household, Russian women’s rights activists don’t fit. Some were married, some not, but all had established careers before they began their feminist political participation. Managing a household may have been part of their responsibilities, but it did not define them. Some may have been wives of professionals; *all* were professionals in their own right.

The feminist leaders lived chiefly in the urban centers, especially Moscow and St. Petersburg, and had significantly higher educational levels than the general female population. Many had benefited from the achievements of the first generation of Russian feminist activists and had attended the women’s higher education or medical courses established in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Several were published authors; a number were pioneers for their sex in such fields as medicine, journalism, literature, and education. In general, they were mature women by the standards of the day.<sup>68</sup> The Women’s Union founders included distinguished progressive educators. A number were linked by their work at the Prechistenskie courses, the first Russian “Workers University,” founded in 1897, and an important recruiting ground for the Social Democrats. Maria Chekhova and Nikolai Chekhov taught at the courses, as did S. F. Chervinskaia and N. A. Gol’tseva, wife of the publisher of the liberal daily *Russkoe slovo*, who headed the upper grades of the school.<sup>69</sup>

Some Women’s Union activists were the children of prominent educators. Zinaida S. Ivanova (1865–1913) was the daughter of a longtime Moscow superintendent of schools. Liubov and Anna Gurevich were the daughters of Iakov Gurevich, a leading Russian pedagogue.<sup>70</sup> Both Ivanova and Liubov Gurevich made important contributions to Russian literary life. Using the male pseudonym “N. Mirovich,” Ivanova translated Norwegian poet and dramatist Henrik Ibsen’s

works into Russian. In *Sever'nyi vestnik*, Liubov published a large number of women writers. Other writer-activists in the Equal Rights Union included Ekaterina N. Shchepkina, a history instructor at the Bestuzhev women's higher courses and the author of several historical works, and Praskov'ia Arian.<sup>71</sup>

Those who were married were more often than not involved in the egalitarian, companionate marriages idealized by the intelligentsia. Activism on a more equal basis could strengthen the bonds of marriage. Chekhova provides one example of joint work with her husband in much of their educational and political activity. Emilia O. Vakhterova, founder of a number of provincial Sunday Schools and contributor to several pedagogical journals, was another founder of the Women's Union. Vakhterova teamed with Vasilii P. Vakhterov (1853–1924) to write one of the most popular Russian primary school readers, used for some years after the Revolution. Activism could bind couples together in more traditional patterns as well. A more stereotypical traditional marriage, in which the wife sacrifices her career to her husband's, was that of Nadezhda Krupskaja and Vladimir Lenin.<sup>72</sup>

In their class and educational backgrounds the feminist leaders had more similarities than differences from leading Bolshevik women activists. In both cases most came from gentry backgrounds and were the first females in their families to complete at least some formal higher education. St. Petersburg's Bestuzhev courses, the largest and most prominent women's higher education institution in Russia, were the legacy of the first generation of Russian feminists. Krupskaja, of gentry origins and a schoolmate and friend of Ariadna Tyrkova, studied at the Bestuzhev courses in the same department and at the same time as Liubov Gurevich.<sup>73</sup> Praskoviia Kudelli (1859–1944) and Konkordia Samoilova (1876–1921), Bolshevik activists and founding editors of the Bolshevik women's journal *Rabotnitsa* (Woman worker), were both Bestuzhev graduates. Kollontai, the harshest critic of the "bourgeois" feminists, was born into a gentry family, the daughter of a tsarist general. Educated by a private tutor in her early years, she attended the Bestuzhev courses at the end of the 1880s.<sup>74</sup>

### The Feminist Rank and File

If the feminist leaders were not bourgeois by class, what about the rank and file? If the available data for feminist leaders is minimal and incomplete, that for the rank and file is even more limited. The only records I was able to find are in the Women's Union archive; they consist of sixty-four membership cards from the or-



ganization's St. Petersburg section. The cards date from the founding of this Union branch in May 1905 to March 1906, the height of revolutionary hopes and dreams and then the beginning of the severe tsarist repression. Such a small sample cannot, of course, be definitive, but these cards nevertheless provide suggestive information about those drawn to the cause of women's equal rights.<sup>75</sup> Besides name and address, each card included categories for Education or Current Employment, and the month membership began. The majority of respondents had some postsecondary education. The largest group, thirteen members, or 20 percent of the total, were either graduates or current students at the Bestuzhev higher courses. Three of the four who listed themselves as chapter founders were either Bestuzhev alumni or current students.<sup>76</sup> Urban and educated, these Union members were far above average in a country in which about 15 percent of all women were literate, but typical of those who supported the feminist cause in other countries.<sup>77</sup>

The employment information on the cards is also suggestive. Those with paid work held jobs in the occupations open to women under tsarist laws. Of those employed, fourteen, or almost 25 percent, were either teachers or domestic tutors. Except for one member who was a clerk in a photo store, the rest were in the "free professions" (doctors, dentists, feldshers, or writers).<sup>78</sup> About half were employed; the remainder were usually students. Five gave no indication of their work. Could these last be the bourgeois feminists against whom Kollontai railed? Even if we assume that all five had no paid work, were married and at home, the number of bourgeois housewives who joined the feminists was comparatively small.<sup>79</sup> Coupled with the available evidence about the backgrounds of feminist leaders, these membership records challenge Kollontai's characterizations. Those drawn to the feminist cause in 1905 and 1906 were more likely to be, as Chekhova described them, "*feldshers*, doctors, primary school teachers," rather than bourgeois ladies.<sup>80</sup> In other words, they were part of the same democratic intelligentsia from which the majority of left and liberal political activists came. Many were part of the group the historian Terry Emmons has called the "interstitial left," which he defines as "the socialist intelligentsia that remained outside the revolutionary parties on the one side and the Kadet party on the other."<sup>81</sup>

In general, the question of class in early-twentieth-century Russia is a complex one, with traditional definitions and concepts of status and social position increasingly under siege in a time of great political upheaval. The use of "bourgeois" and other class labels in the context of 1905 and 1917 has been questioned especially provocatively by the social historian Leopold Haimson. Haimson has noted that alongside the traditional Russian notions of caste and service class,

there began to emerge more universalistic class features. Historians' study of social groupings in networks, clusters, and cohorts can help understand this process. Haimson does not mention women as one of the groups to be considered in his investigation; neither do most other scholars investigating this topic. But from the available evidence, the women who became feminists fit more aptly into the "changing webs of social relationships" described by Haimson. These fluid groupings characterized late Imperial Russia more than any traditional notion of the bourgeoisie.<sup>82</sup>

The women who participated in the feminist movement in 1905 and 1906 were largely part of a new, emerging group: the female intelligentsia. Given the relatively recent availability of higher education opportunities for women, they were likely the first females in their families to attend or complete medical or university courses. Seeking higher education, or any education, they challenged traditional notions of women's role in the family and society. For many, enrolling in a higher education course was their initial act of rebellion, as they defied the family opposition "to girls running through the streets to some kind of unthinkable knowledge," as Shchepkina described it.<sup>83</sup>

The issue of who should be included among the intelligentsia is subject to debate. But by any standards, the numbers of women *intelligentki* in Russia at the turn of the century compare favorably to those in what are considered to be the most "advanced" Western countries. Between 1882 and 1904 approximately 2,000 women graduated from the Bestuzhev courses, the largest women's higher education courses. Including almost 2,000 Russian women physicians, plus graduates of other women's higher education courses and those who attended and/or completed their education at foreign universities, the total is between 6,000 to 8,000 women in an overall female population of 63 million. In the United States in 1900, the combined total of women college graduates and doctors was 12,624, of a female population of 37 million. In England four thousand women attended universities in 1900; German women were excluded from universities from 1879 to 1908. In some western European universities foreign women outnumbered native women. French women became the majority of female higher education students only in 1899, and then their numbers (559) were small.<sup>84</sup> If education, particularly higher education, correlates with feminist involvement, and it certainly appears to do so everywhere that feminism emerges, then women's rights advocates in every country were drawing from a tiny base. Conversely, considering the range of feminist political participation, from sporadic attendance at meetings to full-fledged activism, women's rights captured the attention if not the active involvement of a sizable segment of the female intelligentsia.

Russia's feminists were not bourgeois by class origin, but were they bourgeois politically? Bourgeois politics is generally considered to be liberal politics, a commitment to political democracy, economic capitalism, and at least some aspects of a social welfare state. At the turn of the century many Western liberal leaders equated universal suffrage with extending the right to vote to all men. Prominent politicians, such as Britain's Liberal Party leader and four-time Prime Minister William Gladstone, argued that "the whirlpool of public life" was no place for a woman.<sup>85</sup> In Russia, Paul Miliukov, the head of the main liberal party, vehemently opposed female suffrage.<sup>86</sup> Russian women's rights supporters could not follow a standard liberal line in 1905 because part of that politics in 1905 and 1906 involved accepting their exclusion from the political process because of their gender. This exclusion undermined the sense of solidarity in a common struggle, separated women from the men to whom they were tied by blood or marriage, and propelled them, often for the first time, into the political arena.

Questions of the intersection of class and gender complicate the matter. A class analysis is not sufficient to explain the oppression of women, who are in all classes, inside the family, inside just about every home. Can a woman automatically be assigned the same class as her husband, brother, or father? In the words of the historian Hilda Smith, women "have always been close to the centers of power but prevented from exercising this power themselves."<sup>87</sup> Arguments about women's rights split families. Vera Levandovskaia-Belokonskaia expressed her anger about women's sense of exclusion in the midst of family celebrations of Liberationist victories: "Brothers, fathers, comrades . . . Remember us, and look around you! Silent, and with bitter tears your sisters stand!" A. Piotrovskia addressed a poem "To My Brothers," asking "Why then do you alone get the laurel wreath, and we as before wear the mark of slaves?" Nadezhda Aleksandrovna Shakhmatova, sister of the professor and Kadet Aleksei Shakhmatov, asked, "Has love for our brothers too often developed at the expense of our sisters?"<sup>88</sup>

The changes in personal relations in the wake of national political upheavals were reflected not only among the urban and educated. At the request of peasant women from three villages in Tver Province, a thirteen-year-old peasant girl wrote a letter to the Duma: "Our husbands and boyfriends have a good time with us, but when it comes to talks such as the ones which are going on now about the land and the new laws, they won't have anything to do with us. At least before, though they beat us sometimes, we decided things together. But now we women and young girls must sit silently on the sidelines and have no say about decisions affecting our lives."<sup>89</sup>

## Gender, Wealth, and Consciousness

Among the feminists, as with others in the opposition movements, wealth was not a barrier to consciousness of the need for changing the status quo. Zinaida Mirovich came from a wealthy gentry background and was cited in the 1899 International Council of Women *Who's Who* as someone who “devotes herself to improving the educational and economic conditions of the people on her estate, and has studied the educational systems of Europe for this purpose.”<sup>90</sup> Fluent in six languages, Mirovich wrote extensively on major figures of the French Revolution, most notably Madame Roland. She spoke at all the major Russian women’s congresses. Her closest ties were not with any Russian political parties, but with the international suffrage movement. Able to travel freely, Mirovich attended international feminist congresses, both of the International Council of Women and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and addressed suffrage rallies in Hyde Park. With the tsarist repression beginning to take its toll, on August 9, 1906, Mirovich gave a long speech detailing the Women’s Union activity at the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress in Copenhagen. Her speech became the fifty-nine-page pamphlet *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (From the history of the women’s movement in Russia).<sup>91</sup> Ekaterina Shchepkina, who came from an old Moscow family with extensive property holdings and was the granddaughter of the famed actor Mikhail Shchepkin, wrote several feminist works drawing on her training at the Bestuzhev courses as a historian.<sup>92</sup>

Returning to my original question, is it accurate to use the term “bourgeois feminists”? As the French scholar Françoise Picq has argued, “the notion of bourgeois feminism does not fall within the realm of socio-political analysis but of ideology. It is not predicated on sociological fact, but political condemnation. To label feminism as bourgeois is . . . to challenge its legitimacy and to identify it with social conservatism, with the maintenance of class privilege.”<sup>93</sup> It is clear why Kollontai sought to characterize the feminists as bourgeois. They were having success in organizing women workers and did represent some, although a much overrated threat, to class solidarity. Also, Kollontai, a woman from a very privileged background, may have used the campaign against the feminists as a way to distance herself from her own class origins, to legitimize her socialist credentials. The same standards of class labeling were not used by Kollontai and her allies for other activists. The vast majority of revolutionary activists, both male and female, came from the educated class. If the feminists are dubbed bourgeois for their social origins, isn’t it only just to call Bolsheviks or Mensheviks bourgeois as well?

In terms of traditional political categories, feminists ranged across the liberal and left spectrum. Some, like Ariadna Tyrkova, Anna Miliukova, Olga Vol'kenshtein, and Margarita Margulies, worked within established liberal and socialist political parties. Others, like Maria Chekhova and Nikolai Chekhov, Praskov'ia Arian, Anna Kal'manovich, and Olga Shapir, were sympathetic to socialism but not members of any party. For still others, such as the "woman-doctor" Maria Pokrovskaiia, the primacy of women's oppression demanded separate political forms.

### A Women's Political Party

With government intransigence on women's rights clear, with the men of the Liberation movement forming political parties, one of the most militant feminists decided to emulate them. Thus one of the first, if not the very first, women's political parties in the world emerged in Russia. Like left feminists, the party's founder, Maria Pokrovskaiia, believed that the success of the campaign for women's rights depended on those who had no power or privilege. But unlike left feminists and socialists, she objected to working-class militance on the basis of both feminist and pacifist principles: "Who bears the chief burden of the strike? The wife and mother. And under these circumstances men accuse women of conservatism, when the latter seek to dissuade men from participation in strikes." To Pokrovskaiia, women could demonstrate on the streets: "Let the men stay home with the hungry children during strikes, and let the women be free to leave the hungry cries!" An essentialist, she deplored revolutionary violence as a male characteristic. Women, she wrote in 1905 at the time of the Moscow uprising in December, "know that it is not through violence and slaughter that we can recreate life but only through peaceful reform."<sup>94</sup> Predictably, Pokrovskaiia's views were attacked. Kollontai labeled her and her allies as "right feminists" whose ostensible concern for the poor belied their true class interests.<sup>95</sup>

Characterized by some historians as "eccentric" or "worthy but repressed," Pokrovskaiia invites comparison with the French feminist Madeleine Pelletier (1874–1939), also a physician, the publisher of a feminist journal, and single and self-supporting.<sup>96</sup> Pokrovskaiia's positions were closest to radical feminism. To her, sex discrimination overshadowed all other injustices; men deprived women of political rights and made them economically dependent. Women had "the fewest rights and are the most deprived part of the population." In her view the events of 1905 only confirmed the political selfishness of men and their need to maintain

the economic dependence of women. Pokrovskaiia had worked with the Women's Union, but by the late fall of 1905 the emergence of political parties convinced her that feminists needed more than a union. No male-dominated party could really champion the interests of women. If women wanted to learn necessary political and organizational skills free from male intimidation, they should form a separate political party. Like many Western feminists, Pokrovskaiia argued that women were morally superior to men, representing the highest ideals of humankind, and therefore better suited to the practice of politics.<sup>97</sup>

The Women's Progressive Party became the second feminist political organization to be born in 1905. It was a difficult delivery. Thirty-three women came to the organizational meeting in St. Petersburg; two factions emerged. Some favored focusing exclusively on equal rights; others, including Pokrovskaiia, wanted the new party to have a "general political platform." The former faction left; Pokrovskaiia and her allies formed the party. The next month *Zhenskii vestnik* published the party program. The preamble stated: "Since lack of political rights is one of the chief reasons for the enslavement of women, then the Women's Progressive Party's most immediate goal is the attainment of full political equality with men." Thus lifting women's oppression was linked directly to attaining political rights. The party combined the doctor's populist concern for the poor with militant separatism. As a result, the Progressive Party platform included demands not only for civil and political liberties, equal rights and suffrage, but also for the "elimination of the unfair distribution of wealth and the just payment of labor."<sup>98</sup>

The Progressive Party program resembled that of the Women's Union in many particulars, with similar demands for civil and political liberties, for equal rights in the family, on the land, in education, in employment, and for measures against prostitution. But there was also some utopian and pacifist overlay. The party's economic demands were more radical than the Union's, calling for "elimination of the unfair distribution of wealth and the just payment of labor" and improved public health measures—but not, as did the Union, for protective legislation for women workers. A call for "the destruction of militarism," the replacement of armies by militias, and "the unification of all the peoples of Russia in the name of general humanitarian ideas" rounded out the program. All this was to be accomplished by harnessing the Romanovs to the framework of a constitutional monarchy. Thus, although in their separatism and idealization of the female, Pokrovskaiia and her party resembled militant Western feminist groups, in their rejection of violent tactics, they remained faithful to the pacifism of Leo Tolstoy and his followers.<sup>99</sup>

Programs, of course, are not equivalent to action. The Progressive Party program remained ambitious, but the party attracted no more than a handful of members and little financial support. Efforts to attract working-class women failed. Kollontai claimed that the Progressives' behavior, dress, and conversation at meetings alienated proletarian women.<sup>100</sup> With neither money nor membership, the Progressives hardly acted like a political party. Despite all the injunctions against male-dominated parties, members could do little but support the efforts of various male politicians to enact legislation favorable to women. News of the Women's Progressive Party soon faded from the pages of the *Zhenskii vestnik*.<sup>101</sup> The party did not die, however; its remaining adherents formed the club of the Women's Progressive Party, gaining legal status in December 1906 and holding its first meeting in March 1907. While criticized at the time for seeking government sanction, legalization aided the club in continuing its activity long after the Women's Union had dissolved.<sup>102</sup>

### Lobbying the Liberationists

Feminist lobbying activity occupied a good deal of members' time and energy in 1905 and 1906. Lobbying efforts were directed toward other unions, municipal government, and zemstvo organizations. Women's Union members joined with others to achieve their objectives. The sense of betrayal by the government and by their erstwhile male political allies had motivated growing numbers of women to act, at first by petitioning local authorities and governing bodies for suffrage. A group of St. Petersburg women dispatched a resolution with 1,208 signatures to a Moscow zemstvo activists' conference; 955 women sent a declaration to the mayor of Moscow; a suffrage petition from more than 600 people was presented to a meeting of local officials in Saratov.

A statement to a provincial zemstvo meeting in Voronezh was typical in arguing for equal citizenship and making clear that their demand applied to all women: "The woman citizen no less than the man, is interested in the election of representatives who will fulfill her economic and cultural needs. . . . The peasant woman, responsible for a significant part of farm work, the woman worker, participating in the industrial life of the country, the educated women, working in various intellectual activities, all women, must receive legal recognition of the right to participate equally with men in the political life of the country."<sup>103</sup> In addition to petitions, suffrage supporters organized the first public women's rights

meetings in Moscow and St. Petersburg, but also in Minsk, Odessa, Saratov, Vilna, and Yalta.<sup>104</sup> Response to the early petitions and meetings showed the extent of resistance to extending even limited political rights to women. Many cities, towns, and zemstvos rejected the petitions outright. These included the local governments of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Saratov, and the Tver' and Orel zemstvos. Others simply ignored the appeals.<sup>105</sup>

The Women's Union joined with the Mutual Philanthropic Society in persistent pressuring of municipal government and zemstvo delegates. This ultimately proved successful, but only after a difficult struggle. At the general congress of municipal дума representatives in June 1905, the 117 representatives from 86 cities passed a full suffrage resolution "amid loud applause" and all present signed the petition.<sup>106</sup> But then the congress promptly merged with the zemstvo congress, which still opposed the full seven-part formula. Actions at the zemstvo congresses are indicative of Women's Union tactics of this period. Unlike Mutual Philanthropic Society members, Women's Union adherents did not eschew militance. In April the equal rights group first petitioned the zemstvo assembly to include women's suffrage in their platform. Although the petition was taken under advisement, most of the delegates reacted with either hostility or amusement. The women persevered. In July, August, and September, they repeated their request. Each time the Zemstvo Central Bureau, while acknowledging the fairness of the demands, insisted that they were premature. After the September zemstvo congress voted once again to postpone a decision on the issue, Women's Union members took direct action. Sixty-five feminists invaded the offices of the Zemstvo Central Bureau; they left only after having won the inclusion of a women's suffrage provision in the zemstvo organization's proposed election laws. Finally, after several local zemstvo congresses in Tver and Kostroma approved female suffrage, the zemstvo and town representatives' congress passed a similar resolution on November 14, 1905.<sup>107</sup>

Beginning in the spring of 1905 Women's Union members struggled to convince those in other newly forming unions to include the full seven-part suffrage formula in their initial platforms. They were generally successful; by the middle of 1905 only the Professors and the Zemstvo-Constitutionalists were still holdouts. The battle began anew at the First Congress of the Union of Unions on May 8–9. Despite victories in the individual unions, the atmosphere was hostile. Someone called out that the feminists were there only because of a "misunderstanding" and the equal rights supporters chose to refrain from pushing their demands. At



subsequent meetings even supporters “inevitably forgot” to include mention of women in the appropriate resolutions. Steady lobbying eventually turned the tide; by July women’s rights provisions passed with only one dissenting vote—that of Paul Miliukov of the Professors’ Union.<sup>108</sup>

By the fall of 1905 women’s rights activists had won impressive victories, gaining the endorsements of most elements of the Liberation movement. With the formation of the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Kadets) in October, they had one more major hurdle to overcome. Miliukov, a key Kadet leader, represented a significant roadblock to unity among liberals and the left on the issue of women’s suffrage. The motivations for Miliukov’s position remain cloudy. He gave various reasons for his opposition: that giving women the vote was premature, that it would alienate peasant men. A prolific writer, he devoted only a few paragraphs in his memoirs to the struggle over suffrage. Miliukov’s biographers also pay little attention to this issue.<sup>109</sup> His position is all the more puzzling given his ties to Finland, where key nationalist leaders viewed support for women’s suffrage as strengthening their movement. Miliukov considered the “Finnish question” his chief work on the national question within the Russian Empire; lived in Udel’naia, Finland, from 1901 to 1905; learned some Finnish; wrote in his memoirs that he “loved this people”; and met and admired the “patriarch of Finnish resistance,” Leo Mechelin. But he never mentioned Mechelin’s crucial support for Finnish women’s suffrage in 1905 and 1906. Nor did he seek to emulate Mechelin’s example on this issue.<sup>110</sup>

The most public and personal of the many struggles taking place between women and their supporters and men in authority occurred on a date laden with great significance for the course of Russian history: October 17, 1905. The place was a “dim, gloomy” meeting room in Moscow, where delegates gathered for the hastily convened founding congress of the Constitutional Democratic Party. The congress, which had begun meeting on October 12, was near its end. The almost entirely male delegates watched the woman and man who sat on either side of the chairman. The atmosphere was tense. The subject was a resolution to include women’s suffrage in the new party’s platform. Fifty-seven delegates asked to speak on this issue. The debate was, as Paul Miliukov remembered it, “unexpectedly ‘stormy.’” At the eye of the storm were Anna Miliukova and Paul Miliukov, wife and husband, speaking for and against a women’s suffrage plank, debating each other in public.<sup>111</sup>

The level of emotion displayed in the public row between the Kadet leader and his feminist wife was no doubt intensified by the difficulties in their marital

relationship. In a rare reference in his memoirs to his personal life, Miliukov acknowledged the debt he owed to his wife, writing that the entire burden of child-rearing fell on her shoulders. And much more, as Miliukov acknowledges, “My previous academic career and my present political career could only have been realized with her contribution/assistance.” But his long absences from home had their effect; Miliukov noted the erosion of family closeness as Miliukova and their three children pursued their own interests. At the same time Miliukov emphasized in his memoirs, writing twice on the one page, the longest passage he devotes to his wife, that the trials and tribulations of those years actually strengthened his bond with his wife, which “remained as before close and without dispute.”<sup>112</sup> Miliukova did not leave her account of the marriage or her life in general. As their children grew older and her husband more philandering, she turned to philanthropy and to feminism and she continued her research and writing, focusing on the relationship between the daughters of feminist Mary Wollstonecraft and anarchist William Godwin and the poet Shelley as well as the fate of Alexander Herzen’s wife. None of this work was published.<sup>113</sup>

A century later the Miliukov-Miliukova encounter at the October Kadet Congress still remains a unique example of open conflict between a male political leader and his wife. Judging from the testimonies of other women at the time, this debate replicated in public the kinds of conversations and conflicts occurring in many homes. Miliukov characterized the dispute as attracting more attention because it was between himself and his wife. Indeed, women’s suffrage was one of the few points in the detailed Kadet Party program that inspired debate. Miliukov, in opposing its inclusion, argued that the party platform was already “overloaded,” repeating that advocating for women’s suffrage was “unrealistic.” In his memoirs Miliukov still held to the position that women’s suffrage was a distraction from the “much more important questions of principle, such as republic versus monarchy, the formation and use of a general land fund from ‘nationalized’ lands and others [which] were either avoided or pushed into the background.”<sup>114</sup>

It is hard to conceive that a women’s suffrage plank would be the breaking point. All the socialist parties and the left peasant party already supported it, and if it was relatively unimportant, why create conflict around it? As Ariadna Tyrkova argued, if peasant women were “backward,” so were peasant men. And if peasant men were so opposed to women’s suffrage, why did the most prominent peasant party, the Trudoviks, play a leading role in supporting it? There were other male Kadet leaders, such as Struve, opposed to a suffrage plank but none as vehemently

as Miliukov. Tyrkova, no great fan, had her own explanation of Miliukov's intransigence. Perhaps "as a great lover of female company he feared that women's political arousal would becloud their feminine charm."<sup>115</sup>

Eyewitnesses attested to the intense nature of the debate and Miliukov's involvement in its outcome. I. V. Gessen, another delegate, recalled the "heated battle" between Miliukov and Miliukova. Both Gessen and V. D. Nabokov did not wait for the vote on this issue but left the meeting to see what was happening on the streets. When they returned, Miliukov angrily reproached them; their two votes had been the margin of victory for the women's suffrage resolution. But the victory was not complete. Although women's suffrage was included in the Kadet platform, it was not made binding, in deference to Miliukov.<sup>116</sup> Nor was there much time for celebration. Soon after, an excited journalist interrupted the meeting with news that the tsar had issued the October Manifesto.<sup>117</sup>

The October Manifesto—in which the tsar granted a legislature, universal male suffrage, and other democratic reforms—was a major victory for the opposition. But for the feminists the news was bittersweet, as women's rights again were not mentioned. Further, despite the reforms, there were disturbing indications that the revolutionary tide was turning. News of the manifesto elicited a major backlash in the provinces.<sup>118</sup> The events of 1905, while forcing the tsar to make democratic concessions to stem the tide of revolution, also awakened ugly nationalist forces manipulated by the government. Opposition leaders in the provinces were targeted; feminists married to or otherwise related to radical men were themselves endangered by the reaction. Anna Kal'manovich's husband was a leading defense lawyer for radical political activists with extensive ties to the Socialist Revolutionary Party. If this were not enough, Samuil E. Kal'manovich drew the attention of tsarist authorities for his particularly effective courtroom defense work and for his role as the initiator of the Saratov lawyers' strike in early October 1905.<sup>119</sup> When news of the tsar's proclamation of the October 17 Manifesto granting a democratically elected legislature and other reforms reached Saratov, it sparked a pogrom.

Anna Kal'manovich appears to have been the only one of the feminist leaders directly affected by anti-Semitic violence. During the Saratov pogrom of October 18 through 20, the Kal'manoviches' apartment was reduced to ruins by a Black Hundreds gang; her husband and children barely escaped with their lives by hiding in another apartment.<sup>120</sup> Kal'manovich had been away; she returned and described the scene to Chekhova, in a letter dated November 16. Her husband had

been targeted by the Black Hundreds: "Were it not for our servant's devotion and the selflessness of our friends I would not have found him among the living." Kal'manovich and her children left immediately for Finland; her husband went to St. Petersburg.<sup>121</sup> Her experiences in 1905 and after show the particular difficulties experienced in the provinces, where the repression was generally more thorough and where the Black Hundreds and other reactionary forces carried out their terror with greater impunity.<sup>122</sup>

The Equal Rights Union's most militant phase, both in terms of its members' activism and the organization's alliance with the socialist parties, paralleled the height of general revolutionary activity in 1905 from the October general strike through the Moscow uprising in December 1905. At their Second Delegate Congress (October 8–12), Union members voted almost two to one (54–29) for a boycott of the Duma elections, the position held by the left parties. The Union resolution indicates the heavy socialist influence within the organization at that time. The left argument that the government's definition of the Duma already betrayed the ideals for which the Liberation movement had fought, and that it would be rank hypocrisy to vote for such a legislative body, prevailed. Delegates also passed a resolution which explicitly "recognized that the goals of the socialist parties are closest to those of women."<sup>123</sup>

Carrying a banner reading "Universal Suffrage Without Distinction of Sex," Moscow Union members marched in the funeral demonstration for Nicholas Bauman, a Bolshevik shot by a Black Hundreds supporter. A Women's Union member was wounded when police shot at the demonstrators. Although members participated in other demonstrations and worked on strike committees, many employed their talents in support work. Union members established a number of soup kitchens, first-aid stations, and services for the unemployed. During clashes with the Black Hundreds, police, and soldiers, Union activists served as medics. And the Union dispatched letters of protest to European political leaders and progressives, protesting the tsarist government's repressive tactics.<sup>124</sup>

At the October Delegate Congress the Union approved a resolution stipulating that its members could join "only those democratic societies and parties which had women's suffrage planks in their platform."<sup>125</sup> The Union resolution was aimed squarely at the Kadets; all the socialist parties now unconditionally supported women's suffrage. Tyrkova personally experienced the hostility toward "liberals" at the first Women's Union meeting she attended, upon her return from exile in October. She was not impressed. The speakers were unfamiliar, the speeches repetitive, the meeting surprised her in general by its "incoherence." Olga Vol'kenshtein,

whom she remembered from the literary banquets, ran over to greet her, at first insisting that Tyrkova join the Union then and there. Suddenly Vol'kenshtein stopped. Referring to the Kadet failure to support women's suffrage unconditionally, she exclaimed: "No. I can't sign you up. Liberals in general don't recognize women's equal rights." And she turned on her heels and walked away.<sup>126</sup>

By the time of the Kadet's January congress, tensions in Russia had heightened further. The December 1905 Moscow uprising was violently suppressed by the government, with more than a thousand killed. Many on the left advocated boycotting the Duma elections. The debates within the feminist organizations, especially within the Women's Union about the Duma, reflected the shifting political allegiances among its members and the changing political scene within the Russian Empire.<sup>127</sup> Within the largest party to emerge from the Liberation movement, the battle for an unequivocal commitment to women's rights continued. At the October Kadet congress, Miliukova most prominently carried the woman suffrage banner; the January 1906 congress marked the emergence of Tyrkova as another strong female voice for suffrage. This time Kadet women's rights supporters sought complete victory through the adoption of a mandatory women's suffrage plank. Women's Union members like Miliukova had a special stake in effecting this change.

Tyrkova provided the most detailed description of the January congress suffrage debate in her memoirs. The January congress has been called by one scholar the Kadet Party's "real foundation congress."<sup>128</sup> It was much more representative than the First Congress, with 157 delegates as opposed to 81 for the First, and many more provincial delegates. Miliukov and the majority of the Kadets stood for participation in the Duma. With the elections looming, the issue of Kadet support for women's suffrage remained unresolved; indeed the party seemed to be backsliding. The Kadet Central Committee proposed that female suffrage no longer be a party principle but a matter of individual conscience, thus effectively wiping out the gains made by feminists at the October Congress.<sup>129</sup>

Once again, influential party leaders resisted making support for the female vote mandatory for party members. The debate took place on January 10. Peter Struve, who had worked with Tyrkova on the journal *Liberation* and was the husband of her friend and former classmate Nina, spoke out against a mandatory women's suffrage plank.<sup>130</sup> Miliukov again opposed women's suffrage, emphasizing peasant backwardness. Peasant women, he claimed, were illiterate and unprepared for political life. Peasant men did not consider women as equals; why anger them? Josef Akchurin, the leader of the Crimean Tatar delegation, was among

those who supported Miliukov. The founding congress of the Moslem League was due to begin three days later, on January 13. Akchurin threatened the Kadets with the loss of thirty million Moslem votes if they approved women's suffrage. Miliukov, who valued the potential immediate support of Moslem men over the potential future benefits of female voters, sat nervously twirling his moustache.<sup>131</sup>

As she recollected later, such arguments roused Tyrkova. She had little public-speaking experience, although what she had, at the early Liberation movement banquets, was positive.<sup>132</sup> At the January congress she made her first speech before a large audience; by some accounts she was, of 129 speakers, the only woman.<sup>133</sup> Overcoming her stage fright, Tyrkova replied to Miliukov and Akchurin, attacking the limits of their liberalism and the characterization of peasant women. "How," she argued, "can you ignore half the population and still speak of universal suffrage and democratic beginnings? You say that the peasant women are not ready. And are the peasant men ready?"<sup>134</sup> She concluded by invoking a common theme among equal rights supporters, linking the egalitarianism and self-sacrifice of the radical opposition to the tsar to the current cause of women's suffrage: "As participants in the Liberation movement, Russian women have shown their maturity. Political rights have only been given to men but together we struggled, together we went to jail, sometimes even to the scaffold."<sup>135</sup>

Tyrkova had advanced the basic feminist arguments. Demanding universal suffrage and excluding women are inherently contradictory, as is supporting the vote for peasant men but not women. Women have earned their rights by fighting side by side with men in all aspects of the liberation struggle. Their sacrifice should also be rewarded. The speech transformed Tyrkova, and by her account she, for the "first time, felt those electric currents which flow from the listeners to the speaker, heard the applause, saw how my words changed people's expressions, ignited sparks in their eyes."<sup>136</sup> Miliukova, following Tyrkova to the podium, "sparkled with pleasure" in finding such a fiery ally. To Tyrkova, her friend stated her arguments with "unusual for her ardour." Miliukov watched and smiled nervously.<sup>137</sup>

The subject of women's rights not only caused a rift between female and some male Kadets; it was the most significant disagreement among men in the party as well. Most Kadets did not follow the lead of Miliukov, Struve, and Akchurin on women's rights. Lev Petrazhitskii, the respected lawyer and member of the Kadet Central Committee, proved the most vocal supporter of Miliukova and Tyrkova. In the end the congress delegates defied their leader and approved a mandatory women's suffrage plank by a large majority.<sup>138</sup> Tyrkova noted that the suffrage debate was the most emotionally charged of any at the congress. On all other is-

sues, including the “infinitely more burning agrarian question,” congress delegates “sang with one voice.”<sup>139</sup> Tyrkova was rewarded for her outspokenness. Selected for the Kadet Party Central Committee, she served as its only woman from 1906 through 1917. Wags commented: “In the Kadet Party there is only one real man—and she is a woman.”<sup>140</sup>

The revolutionary year of 1905 marked the emergence of women’s rights organizations, ranging from a society to clubs to a union to a political party. At the beginning of the year, women’s suffrage was not part of the political platform of the Liberation movement. Aside from organization building, the chief achievement of the Russian feminists was the rapid conversion of recalcitrant liberal men to the women’s rights banner and intensive lobbying for women’s rights among all the left and liberal unions and parties. It was impressive in its speed. In less than a year, by the beginning of 1906, largely as a result of feminist lobbying, representatives of the rural and urban local governments, the professional, trade, and peasants unions had included women’s suffrage planks in their platforms. The Kadet vote in January 1906 to make a women’s suffrage plank mandatory for all members culminated the lobbying campaign among the parties that were the heirs of the Liberation movement. With this victory all the liberal and left parties were at least on paper supporting women’s suffrage and women’s rights. Now, attention turned to the First Duma. Once again, the gap between word and deed became apparent.

# 4

## The Fight for Equal Rights in the Russian Dumas and Finland

The son of a female slave cannot be a citizen.

—*Trudovik Duma representative S. M. Ryzhkov, 1906*

Our victory is in all cases great, and the more so as the proposal has been adopted almost without opposition. The gratitude which we women feel is mingled with the knowledge that we are much less worthy of this great success than the women of England and America who have struggled so long and so faithfully, with much more energy and perseverance than we.

—*Finnish suffragist Alexandra Gripenberg, 1906*

THE FIRST MODERN Russian parliament, the “Duma of popular hopes,” opened on April 27, 1906. Kadet leader Paul Miliukov called it the “first day of Russian political freedom!”<sup>1</sup> As the newly elected deputies headed toward the capital, they were met at each station by crowds, handed handwritten instructions, and urged to “give us land and liberty!”<sup>2</sup> Although almost invisible in most accounts of this Duma, the popular notion of liberty often included women. Initially, feminist activists were far from united about the Duma and its potential usefulness. While they saw political rights as the key to the attainment of equality for women in all spheres of the nation’s life, they differed on the means to achieve those rights. The Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries boycotted the elections. The Women’s Union, reflecting a strong socialist presence, had at its Second Delegate Congress approved a resolution of support for the boycott. But sentiment for this position did not last long. Union chapters were guaranteed autonomy; a minority of chapters disregarded the resolution from the beginning. Members of these



chapters argued that the pre-electoral agitation could be used for political education and the unification of the masses.<sup>3</sup>

By the time the Union's Third Delegate Congress convened on May 21, 1906, elections had been held, the Duma had met for almost a month, and Union members were working with Trudovik and Kadet representatives. The lifting of the boycott was merely a belated reflection of reality. Still, members from the Pskov chapter voted against removing the ban.<sup>4</sup> The changes in the Union's position reflected not only the shifting political conditions but developments within the organization. By May many members sympathetic to the socialists had become disillusioned, left the Union, or felt the sting of widening government repression. Those who remained either favored a legal, parliamentary approach or saw it as the best strategy for the moment.<sup>5</sup>

Once the election results were tallied, women's rights supporters had good reason for optimism about the new legislature. Delegates from prosuffrage left and center parties predominated. If they combined forces, the Kadets and the populist Trudoviks had a clear majority. At the Kadet's Third Congress, held five days before the opening of the Duma to discuss tactics, the first point on the list of proposals to be brought before the new legislative body was "the realization through legislative norms of . . . the equality of all citizens—without distinction of nationality, religion, class and sex—and freedom; the introduction of universal, equal, direct and secret voting, without distinction of sex, in both national and local elections." This was to be accomplished, according to the second point of the tactical program, even if such a strategy led to "an open break with the government."<sup>6</sup>

Influencing the Duma required some shift in focus. In the political struggles during 1905 and early 1906, women's rights supporters were able to participate directly in many of the debates, as was the case with Anna Miliukova and Ariadna Tyrkova during the Kadet congresses, with Maria Chekhova and Olga Kaidanova in the Teachers Union, and with women in the Social Democratic and Socialist Revolutionary parties. In the Duma women had to rely on other tactics, however, as they were barred from voting or holding office. With the Union vote officially lifting the organization's boycott, debate now centered on the question of tactics. How could the Union best influence the men of the Duma? Some advanced the idea of designating a press correspondent for *Soiuz zhenshchin* (Union of women), the proposed Union journal. Union member E. P. Gromnitskaia suggested choosing three members of the organization to be de facto Duma representatives, attending all sessions of the new parliament.<sup>7</sup>

Others advocated for recruiting two Duma deputies to join the Union specifically to be women's rights advocates within the legislative body. Nikolai Chekhov proposed particular overtures to the Trudoviks. Olga Klirikova argued that this would only alienate the Kadet Duma majority, since that party had already approved a women's rights plank. Neither perspective prevailed. Instead, a compromise resolution stating the Union's intention to push for legislation "extending to women all political and civil rights as well as the other demands of the Liberation movement" won approval.<sup>8</sup> Some feminists still held hopes of winning over those to the right of the Kadets and advocated even milder strategies. A letter writer in the April 1906 issue of the *Zhenskii vestnik* expressed concern that the large turnout of female volunteer workers for the Kadets would alienate members of other parties, particularly those on the right. She urged that the Women's Progressive Party limit its platform only to women's rights to avoid antagonizing members of rightist parties. But parties more conservative than the Kadets did not even mention women's rights in their programs.<sup>9</sup>

### The First Duma

In the short-lived First Duma, the "woman question" surfaced immediately and intensely. Beginning the lobbying campaign, the Russian Women's Society sent a five-thousand-signature petition to the Duma on its first workday. The petition noted that the government decrees of August 6, October 17, and December 11, 1905, barred the participation of women in the electoral process. Protesting the exclusion of one half of the population from the political sphere, the Society signaled that it would be part of vigorous efforts to influence the new Russian Parliament.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the desire of Kadet leaders' to avoid a debate about women's rights, the issue emerged almost immediately. The first major agenda item for the new parliament was the response to the tsar's address from the throne, viewed as setting the political tone and priorities of the fledgling body.<sup>11</sup> It served, in Miliukov's words, as "the Duma's last will and testament."<sup>12</sup> The response gave short shrift to women, calling for universal suffrage but without the explicit stipulations that there be no discrimination on the basis of class, nationality, religion, or sex. Despite the majority vote in favor of women's suffrage and equal rights at the Kadet Party's January congress and the resolutions at the Third Party Congress, key Kadet leaders wanted to keep this, along with other civil rights issues, in the back-

ground. Miliukov, Struve, and Nabokov, among the most influential Kadets, remained unenthusiastic, if not hostile, to pressing the issue of women's suffrage at that moment, claiming that they wanted to emphasize the present, not the future.<sup>13</sup> Yet in his memoirs, Miliukov defended the response as a blueprint for the future: "We were very proud of this document, and in case the Duma failed, as we expected, we believed that the address would serve . . . towards a realization in the future of everything outlined in it."<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to the Kadets, the recently formed Trudoviks, an amalgam of populist intellectuals and peasant representatives, had without a struggle included women's equal rights in the first line of their 1906 program.<sup>15</sup> Peasant men were commonly considered to be the most intransigent opponents of female suffrage, but it was the Trudoviks, the largest peasant party, the most left party in the Duma, who were the first to raise the issue in the Duma. Derided by the Social Democrats as mere tools of the Kadets, the Trudoviks used their vigorous support for women's rights as one way to distinguish themselves as more progressive than Miliukov's party.<sup>16</sup>

In a forceful and well-received speech at the May 2 Duma session, the Trudovik Semyon Ryzhkov first explicitly raised the issue of women's rights, declaring that "we forget in this first Russian parliament about Russian women, who fought shoulder to shoulder with us for freedom. We forget that the son of a female slave cannot be a citizen."<sup>17</sup> None of the Kadet leaders' memoirs mention women's suffrage or women's rights as an issue in this Duma. Yet the first major debate of the Duma was about including a demand for women's suffrage in the reply to the tsar's address. The Kadets took control of the reply process. Although a thirty-three-person committee representing all the Duma factions held an eighteen-hour nonstop meeting, the draft reply was penned by them, specifically Miliukov, Fedor Kokoshkin, and Maxim Vinaver.<sup>18</sup> On May 3, 1906, Nabokov, representing the commission, read the draft reply, calling in vague terms for "universal suffrage," to the full Duma. The discussion centered around clarifying the term "universal" in the four-tail (universal, secret, direct, and equal) suffrage formula. The primary focus was not on stipulating that "universal" be understood to mean eliminating distinctions of class, nationality, or religion, but on extending suffrage to women. In other countries at this time, the term "universal" suffrage applied only to men. Despite previous party resolutions, the Kadets were reluctant to push for such a radical democratic reform.<sup>19</sup>

The Trudoviks immediately proposed an amendment including the words "without distinction of sex." Debate on the proposed amendment occupied most

of the day's session and it was largely between the Kadets (who supported the vaguer wording), the Trudoviks (who supported a universal suffrage formula explicitly including women), and the Octobrists (who opposed women's suffrage as premature).<sup>20</sup> Support for traditional sex roles certainly existed in this Duma. The Voronezh nonparty peasant deputy Filipp Kruglikov made the "barefoot and pregnant" argument that "our women are not suited for suffrage; our women are suited for domestic work, to take care of the children and tend the stove." As Kruglikov cited Paul's biblical admonition—"Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands"—applause echoed in the chamber. Kruglikov was part of a distinct minority in the Duma and controversial in his own district. In an indication of the attention paid to the Duma debates, several groups of peasant women from Kruglikov's district sent letters, probably written for them by feminist sympathizers, protesting his remarks.<sup>21</sup>

The Kadets were careful to avoid attacking the concept of women's suffrage, but the conflicts at the party congresses had not changed the views of many of their key leaders. Miliukov, not a Duma deputy but accused of running the Duma from an adjacent Tauride Palace tearoom, argued that the reply's endorsement of universal suffrage without specifics reflected the compromise nature of the document.<sup>22</sup> Inside the Duma the Kadets again cited significant opposition, especially peasant customs and mores, for their reluctance specifically to include women. Iaroslav' deputy and Duma secretary Prince Dmitrii Shakhovskoi argued that the Duma should not alienate the "significant minority in the Duma and in the country which stands for a limited understanding of suffrage." Nabokov argued that women's suffrage probably was not supported by the majority of the population, and it would be wrong to move too far ahead of the popular will. Other Kadets and delegates from parties further to the right supported this view. Only one Kadet, Aleksei S. Lomshakov, spoke out against his party colleagues in this debate. He warned against the limitation of democratic principles inherent in the restriction of voting rights only to males.<sup>23</sup>

The Kadet majority opposed the inclusion of a specific demand for women's suffrage, but they endorsed the general concept of women's equal rights. How the Kadets made the distinction between supporting equal rights and supporting women's suffrage is not clear. Apparently Nabokov and the Kadet majority considered an emphasis on equal rights for women to be less threatening than a focus on suffrage. Nabokov underlined the Kadet commitment to equal rights when he made a concession to the Trudoviks before the vote on their amendment. The first line of the Kadet platform had put equality of the sexes first in stating that "all

Russian citizens, without distinction of sex, religious belief, and nationality, are equal before the law.”<sup>24</sup> Nabokov agreed that all passages on equal rights in the Duma address should include reference to women.<sup>25</sup> This would be seen again in the Kadet proposal on equal rights introduced later in this Duma.

In the May 4 Duma debate on the response to the address from the throne, Nabokov stated that the commission drafting the response had explicitly endorsed equal rights without regards to sex in their statement calling for equal rights.<sup>26</sup> The Trudoviks retorted that to limit suffrage was to deny the will of the people, for “in a free society, all are free.”<sup>27</sup> Ivan Zabolotnyi noted wryly that if the will of the majority were truly taken into account, women, as the majority of the population, would definitely have the vote.<sup>28</sup> His words did not stem the tide; the Trudovik women’s suffrage motion was defeated. The majority of deputies voted to reject any amendments clarifying the meaning of the term “universal suffrage.” This most liberal of Dumas would not challenge the tsarist government directly or risk splitting opposition forces on the issue of women’s suffrage. But showing again the willingness to champion the general issue of women’s equal rights, while in committee the Duma response was amended so that it included this clause: “Abolition of all disabilities and privileges, occasioned by class, nationality, religion, and *sex*.”<sup>29</sup>

The Duma’s vacillations and the continued obstruction by leading Kadets on the issue of women’s suffrage provoked a strong response. To spur further action, all the major women’s rights organizations—the Women’s Union, the Mutual Philanthropic Society, the League for Women’s Equal Rights, the Women’s Progressive Party, and the Women’s Political Club—united in organizing a large public meeting on May 5 in the auditorium of St. Petersburg’s Agricultural and Educational Museum, the Solianyi gorodok.<sup>30</sup> The meeting pointed out the tactical splits among women’s rights supporters, the extent of opposition to the feminists from the left, and concerns about recruiting more women to the cause of equal rights.<sup>31</sup> Both Mchebrova of the League for Equal Rights and Vol’kenshtein of the Women’s Union spoke about the indifference of women to women’s rights agitation. The first point of conflict raised at the meeting concerned the issue of feminists working within the new political structure. A male socialist triggered the exchange, arguing that women should join with men in the existing political parties, and claiming that men treated women as comrades. The feminist leader Maria Pokrovskaia responded angrily that the situation for women in the political parties was far from equal, that women played an exclusively passive role and did all the menial work; as a result, they were in a powerless position.<sup>32</sup>

Feminist supporters and defenders of the Kadets clashed. Pokrovskaiia argued that the Kadets promised women political equality only when they needed their support. Now that the Kadets had power, noted Pokrovskaiia, they were silent about women's equal rights. She advocated women leaving the party if the Kadets failed to present a legislative proposal for women's rights in the Duma. Liudmila Ruttsen, sister of the Kadet Duma deputy Alexander Ruttsen, hotly contested Pokrovskaiia's accusation, citing the equal rights provision in the address from the Duma as evidence of the Kadets' good intentions.<sup>33</sup>

Socialist sympathizers sought to move the discussion away from an exclusive focus on women's suffrage. The Menshevik Mikhail Nevedomskii noted that only the Saratov Trudovik deputy Nikolai Semenov and the worker deputy Mitrofan Mikhailichenko spoke in the Duma about the full seven-part suffrage formula.<sup>34</sup> He proposed sending these deputies congratulatory telegrams. But the socialists were no less united. Heckling, mostly from other socialist men in attendance, grew stronger. The hecklers—shouting “We don't need paper resolutions!”—blocked the passage of a resolution demanding equal rights for women, instead proposing sending telegrams to all Duma deputies supporting female suffrage. The meeting ended without taking any action.<sup>35</sup>

Pokrovskaiia continued her attack on other feminist leaders in *Zhenskii vestnik*. Her description of the meeting shows the differences among women's rights supporters in their attitudes toward the Kadets and the socialist parties. According to Pokrovskaiia, the meeting's organizers timidly responded to the mostly male hecklers. In the end they not only stopped protesting against the interruptions, but even began to support them, saying: “I understand women Social Democrats, but I don't understand women Kadets!” To Pokrovskaiia, the meeting again showed the futility of working with any male-dominated political parties. The socialists would only accept a women's movement on their terms. They, like other political parties, were led by men; their actions only perpetuated male control and female passivity. The argument that a real change in women's position would come only with socialism was spurious. Socialism was a distant dream; women could accomplish much in the present if they had the vote.<sup>36</sup>

On May 7 a crowd of more than three thousand “to the left of the Kadets” gathered in the Solianyi gorodok. This meeting, organized by the “group of progressive voters,” unaffiliated leftists from the Union of Unions, featured many speakers expressing anger against the “treachery” of the Kadets. Participants whistled down Kadet speakers, gave a thunderous ovation to Mikhailichenko, and unanimously passed a resolution protesting that the Kadets “threw out of the an-

swering address the basic popular demand: equal, direct, secret suffrage without distinction of sex and nationality . . . the meeting views this to be a betrayal of a promise made before the voters." On May 9 an even larger crowd met at a hall provided by Countess Panina and whistled down anyone, including the Trudovik deputy and respected populist Venedikt Miakotin, who defended the Kadets. Speakers condemned the Kadets for "wavering between the people's freedom and the old autocratic power oppressing the people."<sup>37</sup>

Again, on May 11, at a meeting held at the Social-Political Club, a resolution condemning the whistling and heckling of Kadet speakers was defeated overwhelmingly.<sup>38</sup> The meeting showed the difficulties faced by women advocating for their rights, and the battles that had to be waged both with liberals and with the left. Women were barred from the Duma, barred from that public forum for directly advocating for their rights, and dependent on surrogates. Within the Duma, although the Trudoviks supported them, the Kadets commanded a majority reluctant to push for women's suffrage. Outside the Duma, Socialist men and some women showed their hostility by, among other tactics, disrupting public feminist meetings.

Confrontations about women's rights took a more personal tone in the halls of the Duma. Those women who concentrated on politically lobbying the Duma deputies were still elated from their intense election work. Tyrkova observed that "women still didn't have the vote, but they developed such energy that they considered the deputies their representatives, and acted as if the Tauride Palace was their home or club."<sup>39</sup> She described the large numbers of women crowding the lobbies of the Tauride Palace, anxious to speak directly to the Duma deputies. Among them were some elegantly dressed upper-class women. Watching the interactions, Tyrkova observed that Maklakov, Miliukov, and Nabokov especially basked in the glow of female adoration and that Maklakov particularly delighted in pitting his admirers against each other.<sup>40</sup>

Most of the active women lobbyists, modestly clothed in the fashion of the female intelligentsia, were less interested in flirting than in politics. The very presence at the Duma of women who challenged traditional sex roles provoked hostility from some, and not only the Russians. The British envoy Bernard Pares, no fan of the feminists, invoked the clichés of the backward peasant man and the unattractive woman in describing an encounter between the peasant Duma deputy Ryabov and a suffragist. The feminist is described as part of a group looking much like the radical nihilist women of the 1860s, "short-haired young ladies in spectacles, most of them very puny-looking." Responding to the women's arguments

for female suffrage and the right to serve as representatives, Ryabov, whose physical appearance Pares does not mention, finally rejoined: "Look here, let me give you a piece of advice. You get married, then you'll have a husband and he'll look after you altogether."<sup>41</sup>

The feminist lobbying seemed at least partially rewarded when, on May 15, the issue of women's rights once again came before the Duma. The Kadets presented a petition on equal rights signed by 111 Duma deputies, including such Kadet leaders as Vinaver, Kokoshkin, Prince Dolgorukov, Ruttsen, the lawyer Lev Petrazhitskii (1867–1931), and Nabokov. Reflecting the continued division within their ranks on this issue, a number of prominent Kadets—including Ivan Petrunkevich, Fedor Rodichev, Vasilii Maklakov, and Prince Dmitri Shakhavskoi—did not sign. Nevertheless, the petition demonstrated the Kadet strategy of embedding the question of women's rights into the general question of equal rights. Thus the petition addressed discrimination based on nationality, religion, and class, as well as sex. Following the Kadet platform and the response to the tsar's address, the petition stated that "all citizens of both sexes are equal before the law" and proposed the "abolition of limitations on the rights of women to receive education at all levels, limitations on active and passive voting rights." Noting that one law could not sweep away all the barriers to equality, the proposal called for the creation of a thirty-three-member committee composed of Duma deputies, to begin the massive work of investigation and compilation necessary to make equal rights at least a legal reality.<sup>42</sup>

The proposal had broad support; even before debate began, forty more Duma deputies added their signatures.<sup>43</sup> Though the equal rights motion was wide-ranging, most of the debate focused on women's rights. Once again, the issue of equal rights, but only as it applied to women, split the Kadets. The debate showed that both defenders and opponents of equality between the sexes could be found across the political spectrum. Kruglikov again contended that peasant men would not agree to extending equal rights to women. Ignoring the rest of the Kadet proposal, he argued that peasant men should get full rights before considering women.<sup>44</sup> Kruglikov's speech elicited applause as expected from the right but also from the left, showing again how opposition to women's rights could cut across party lines and come from unexpected sources. Maxim Kovalevskii, a legal scholar and member of the moderate Party of Legal Reform, invoked the Amazon peril. Equal rights, he claimed, would raise "the question of whether women ought to be subject to military service, whether we will form a corps of Amazons or not." The Kadet Peter Krylov rejoined by invoking women's sacrifices in childbirth,



noting that the number of women who had died in childbirth was probably greater than the number of men who had died in all wars.<sup>45</sup>

A measure of the progress women's rights advocates made can be seen in the types of arguments used against the proposal. The usual arguments about women's unworthiness, radicalism, or domestic responsibilities were supplanted for some by acceptance of equal rights in principle but opposition to the tempo of change. The Octobrist count Peter Heiden accepted as fact discrimination against women and claimed support for the idea of women's rights. Raising the objection of speed and size, Heiden argued that moves to achieve equal rights should be gradual and that a committee of thirty-three was too small to make such decisions for the much larger Duma.<sup>46</sup> Supporters used a range of arguments. One of the most conservative Kadets advanced a statist and modernizing approach. Among the most effective and articulate supporters of women's rights in the First Duma, Petrazhitskii was entrusted along with his party colleague Evgenii Kedrin to introduce the Russian Women's Society petition (four thousand to five thousand signatures) formally into the Duma. In so doing, Petrazhitskii appealed to conservatives by invoking the national interest.<sup>47</sup> Observing that the woman question did not get the attention it deserved, Petrazhitskii contended that extending equal rights to women would strengthen the state. The exclusion of women from the universities and the civil service weakened the country by depriving it of many educated and talented people at a time when such people were in short supply.

It would be naïve, claimed the Kadet jurist, to think that law alone would ensure full equality. Nevertheless, the establishment of legal equality would at least remove the formal juridical obstacles to the attainment of real parity in the future. Linking the issues of Jewish and women's rights, Petrazhitskii stressed that it was to the advantage of the government to lift its restrictions against both. The argument of national interest extended to women in traditional sex roles. It was a familiar one, employed by feminists as well as such nineteenth-century advocates of educating women as Nikolai Pirogov. Petrazhitskii contended that involving mothers in politics would strengthen the state and the family: "It is especially important that mothers interest themselves in public matters and that they kindle such interest in their children."<sup>48</sup>

There is no evidence that Petrazhitskii's arguments swayed any conservatives, but support for the women's rights proposal came from representatives of another group considered hostile to women's rights. The Moslem I. Akhtiamov argued that giving women equality would benefit his co-religionists: "to deprive of those rights the women who are half of the almost twenty million Moslems living in

the Russian Empire . . . would be the height of injustice.”<sup>49</sup> Striking at prevailing stereotypes of Moslem backwardness, the Trudovik Alexei Aladin ingeniously repeated assurances received from several Moslem deputies that nothing in the Koran specifically proscribed women’s political equality.<sup>50</sup>

After four days of debate the proposal for the new commission on equal rights passed easily, and the Duma set about selecting the thirty-three who would serve. Final members included feminist sympathizers Petrazhitskii, Kokoshkin, and Ryzhkov as well as the more lukewarm Petrunkevich, Heiden, Nabokov, and the hostile Maxim Kovalevskii.<sup>51</sup> Even before this committee was formed, Duma delegates had approached Women’s Union members during the Union’s May Congress in St. Petersburg for help in the vast legal research necessary to make women’s equality a reality. The Union members responded by forming a committee composed of four women—Ekaterina Shchepkina, Liubov Gurevich, Olga Klirikova, and E. P. Gromnitskaia. Enlisting the help of jurists and legal scholars, the feminists began their work in early June and finished a month later. The committee faced a massive task. They had to research all sixteen volumes of the Russian civil code, marking all sections limiting women’s rights, as well as those referring exclusively to men and thus by omission excluding women. In each case a decision about whether to exclude or change the law was made. Finally, the results of all this work were summed up and an appendix added, explaining several articles and additions, and what had been done. On July 7 the women presented the completed document to Petrazhitskii, who approved it and prepared to introduce it on July 10 in the Duma. On July 8 the tsar dissolved the Duma.<sup>52</sup>

This was as far as any comprehensive package on women’s equal rights would get in any Duma. Among the feminists the committee’s work met with mixed reactions. Committee member Klirikova, for example, criticized it as too narrow in scope. Laws, she wrote, could not by themselves bring genuine equality for women: “Only cultural progress and the further amelioration of the struggle for survival will enable all, including women, to be equal and free.”<sup>53</sup> Radical feminists such as Pokrovskiaia took different lessons from the work of the First Duma on women’s issues. She charged that the First Duma’s temporizing on women’s rights only showed that members of the upper classes were not the feminists’ true friends. Those who really want equal rights for all and for women in particular must, she argued, “welcome the participation of the people in the political arena, cannot but wish them victory over the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy.”<sup>54</sup> The trope of class struggle, of “the people” versus the ruling classes, was very much part of oppositional discourse. Feminists as well as socialists could and did appropriate it.

## Victory in Finland

Dashed hopes in Russia contrasted with raised hopes in a part of the empire whose southeastern border was about thirty miles from St. Petersburg. A month after the tsar dissolved the First Duma, he gave final approval to far-reaching reforms in Finland. Among these reforms were provisions mandating women's right to vote and stand for elective office. On July 7, 1906, with a stroke of his pen, the Grand Duke of Finland and autocrat of all the Russias mandated the first in the world full suffrage for women in a major national entity. Finnish women twenty-four and older won the vote and the right to run for elective office.<sup>55</sup> The victory for women in Finland was especially quick and unexpected. Its success was due to a combination of factors, including Finland's unique status within the Russian empire, women's political activism, the particular nature of its agrarian society, exceptional national unity, the support of key male leaders, and the effects of war and revolution. Finnish leaders succeeded in framing women's suffrage as part of the nationalist and democratic struggle against a repressive and backward imperial entity. As a result, all Finnish political factions, from nationalists to feminists to socialists, supported women's rights.

Within a short time Finland went from severe repression to a parliamentary system with the most inclusive electorate in the world. The Finns' achievement can be directly linked to the 1905 revolution in Russia. Finland was close to the imperial capital of St. Petersburg; the Russian unrest spread quickly to the Finns, chafing under renewed Russification policies. A massive Finnish general strike and demonstrations in October 1905 demanded democratic reforms, including national autonomy and universal suffrage for both sexes.<sup>56</sup> The popular uprising dictated the political response and on May 29, 1906, the Finnish Diet passed laws that, with the tsar's approval, transformed the Finns' highly restrictive system of representation into the most democratic in the world.<sup>57</sup>

Some scholars ascribe Finland's 1906 female suffrage victory primarily to the Scandinavian liberalism that led to suffrage victories in Denmark, Iceland, and Norway soon after as well as to Finland's location on the periphery of Europe. The Scandinavian countries were indeed among the first to legislate women's suffrage. Finland is certainly far from the center of Europe. It is also the home of a sizable Swedish minority, the legacy of seven centuries of Swedish rule. Fearful of the Finnish majority, the Swedes opposed equal rights. The fight for women's rights became part not only of the nationalist struggle with Russia but also between the Swedish ruling class and the Finns, especially Finnish peasants. A bill providing

for equal rights for both sexes and for women's suffrage was first introduced in the Diet in 1897. Political instability delayed consideration of the bill until the end of 1904 and the beginning of 1905. The noble and burgher estates, dominated by Swedish speakers, opposed the bill, and the clergy opposed women's rights on religious grounds.<sup>58</sup> Only the peasant estate, which had a clear Finnish-speaking majority, passed the bill.<sup>59</sup>

The critical factors in Finland's pioneering women's suffrage triumph had much more to do with Finland's peripheral place within the Russian Empire than its relation to the centers of European power. After a long battle for independence, the Finns fell under Russian control in 1809. Finland, "this quiet backwater of the empire and of Europe," had a unique status as a semiautonomous Grand Duchy, the result of a special agreement with Tsar Alexander I. Finnish ministers reported directly to the tsar, as Finnish Grand Duke, and his appointed governor-general, thus bypassing the Russian bureaucracy.<sup>60</sup> For much of the nineteenth century the Finns enjoyed great autonomy. But in the 1890s, after the accession of Nicholas II, the Russians began to pursue a brutal policy of Russianization. Even the trappings of Finnish autonomy—such as its own legislature, currency, and postage stamps—challenged Russian nationalists in the ascendancy in the tsarist government. Under the sway of the Slavophile faction within his government, Nicholas, on February 15, 1899, issued his "February Manifesto," which essentially abrogated the legislative functions of the Finnish parliament. Still dissatisfied with Finland's remaining autonomy, Nicholas gave near dictatorial authority to the Russian governor-general Nikolai Bobrikov in April 1903.<sup>61</sup>

Bobrikov's severe Russification policies backfired, however. In what Finnish feminist leader Annie Furuhielm has called the "period of enslavement," repression sparked resistance. Women, already active in women's associations and in revivalist and temperance movements, played an important part in the nationalist struggle, through the Martta organization, dedicated to educating and mobilizing women working in the home. A few women gained proximity to top leadership circles. Most notably Dr. Tekla Hultin, an active member of the Finnish Feminist Union, was secretary to Leo Mechelin, vice president of the Senate and the real head of the autonomous Finnish government.<sup>62</sup>

The overwhelmingly agrarian nature of Finnish society at the turn of the twentieth century also played a role in support for women's rights. In Finland almost 90 percent of the population earned their living from the land, and many were landless peasants. The word for citizen in Finnish comes from *kansa*, for "folk" or "commoners," not, as in German, from *Bürger*, the word for "town dweller."

Rural traditions of gender collaboration, and women's highly visible participation in the revivalist and temperance movements, contributed to the sense of the unity of both sexes in the public sphere and in seeking political rights.<sup>63</sup>

The tsarist government would not have approved democratic reforms in Finland without the general upheavals in the Russian Empire. The Finns took a leading role in this unrest. Minister of Education Ivan Tolstoi observed that the Finns were the first of the empire's non-Russian peoples to take to the streets during the October 1905 general strike, which spread widely. Responding to the Finnish strikes, Nicholas II appointed a committee to reform the Finnish Diet and phase in universal male suffrage. On November 7, 1905, Nicholas issued a manifesto restoring the old Finnish constitution. But this was just the beginning. The Finnish Diet was far from representative. Divided into four estates (nobles, clergy, peasants, and burghers), its rules limited the vote to only 8 percent of the population. Factory workers and landless peasants were excluded from the ballot. The legislative body proposed reforms that included universal suffrage, freedom of speech, meeting, and association. Still, real power remained in the hands of the tsar, as the Diet could not override his vetoes.<sup>64</sup>

In Finland, nationalism joined women and men together in the struggle against the tsar and his policies. In the autumn of 1904, Finnish women began publicly agitating for the vote. The first public meeting for women's suffrage attracted more than a thousand women and marked the beginning of a large-scale petition campaign. By December 1905 the women's movement became completely unified when the conservative Finnish Women's Association abandoned its previous support for limited suffrage, joining socialists and feminists in endorsing universal ballot access. Male politicians more and more viewed women's suffrage as advantageous to such causes as temperance, Finnish linguistic and cultural identity, and fiscal conservatism. In the end, pressured by events on the streets, the tsar's committee produced a proposal for a unicameral two-hundred-person legislature, elected by universal male and female suffrage.<sup>65</sup>

Finnish leaders supportive of women's suffrage framed the issue as part of a national democratic consensus. Tsarist bureaucrats and some Finnish leaders were skeptical about the thoroughly radical step of extending the vote to women. Robert Hermanson, chair of the tsar's Finnish committee, opposed such a change. But Leo Mechelin countered these concerns, arguing: "The opinion of the nation demands it, and there is no reason to fear that women will not use their vote with the same feeling of responsibility as men."<sup>66</sup> Paradoxically then, in July 1906, by approving the Finnish reform proposal, the Russian Tsar Nicholas II struck a blow

for women's rights more sweeping than in any contemporary Western democracy. When the initial elections were held in 1907, nineteen women, mostly members of feminist and/or socialist organizations, were elected to the two-hundred-member Eduskunta, the Finnish Parliament, becoming the world's first female parliamentary representatives. As one Finnish writer observed, "Just as the calamities which had befallen Finland came from Russia, so was her deliverance to come from Russia."<sup>67</sup>

The Finnish victory electrified feminists everywhere. In August 1906, one month after the tsar signed his Finnish decree, Annie Furuhjelm, the leader of the Finnish Women's Rights Union, won an enthusiastic response as she reported to the Second Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen. Finland was peripheral to the central battlegrounds of the global feminist movement and the victory there was a surprise to many international activists. At the conference Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Suffrage Alliance, hailed the unexpected and swift Finnish achievement, comparing the Finns to an army that has somehow appeared on the summit of a mountain, without being noticed by others making the arduous climb. The attention of feminists had been turned to struggles elsewhere and then, like a bolt from the blue, "there above us, all the women of Finland stand today. Each wears the royal crown of the sovereignty of the self-governing citizen."<sup>68</sup> While rejoicing in their achievement, some Finnish women expressed unease about the comparative quickness of their victory. The suffragist Alexandra Gripenberg wrote that although Finnish females were grateful for gaining the vote, "we are much less worthy of this great success than the women of England and America who have struggled so long and so faithfully, with much more energy and perseverance than we."<sup>69</sup>

The victory in a part of the empire so close to the capital especially encouraged Russian women activists. They covered the Finnish struggle in articles in feminist and socialist papers, in progressive thick journals, and in pamphlets, extending support to each other. The Russian Women's Equal Rights Union and the Finnish Women's Rights Union had exchanged letters of support at the time of the December 1905 Russian uprising. In October 1906, for the first time, a delegation of three socialist feminists—the Menshevik Margulies, the Bolshevik Anna Gurevich, and the Socialist Revolutionary Evgeniia Rudneva—attended a meeting of the Central Organization of Social Democratic Women in Viipuri, Finland. Congratulating the Finnish women on their suffrage victory, they hailed them as the "free women of a free nation" and expressed their hope that the Finnish women's movement would serve as a model for Russian women. Socialist feminist leader

Alexandra Kollontai also rejoiced in the Finnish victory, noting that her mother was Finnish and that she was proud of her Finnish blood.<sup>70</sup>

The Russian tsar's motives for approving reform had nothing to do with support for women's rights and everything to do with Finland's place in his empire. At the time of the 1905 revolution, concessions in Finland quieted one area of disturbance, allowing the regime to focus on Russia proper. Although on paper a great step forward for Finland and for women, the reforms were soon under attack once the tsarist empire moved in the troops necessary to strike back at the opposition. If Nicholas had any thoughts about his historic role in the Finns' democratic victory, he did not record them. He soon returned to trying to Russify Finland, and the new Finnish parliament, like its predecessor, remained subordinate to the tsar and his appointees. Even symbolically, the tsar and his ministers were not about to extend equal rights to the women in the rest of his empire. Indeed, keeping women out of the public sphere became for some tsarist officials part of the justification for maintaining autocracy.

The Finns finally won their independence after the Bolshevik Revolution, on December 6, 1917. The delay in fully actualizing the democratic reforms won in 1906 is of course necessary to acknowledge. Nevertheless, in battling to attain full political rights for women, the Finns first successfully joined nationalism and feminism in the service of an anticolonial struggle. Although the Finnish achievement cannot be separated from revolutionary events in the Russian Empire, it was also unique, representing a rare coalition of feminists, nationalists, and socialists uniting in including women's suffrage in their demands for national autonomy and self-determination. In other parts of the empire, nationalists, socialists, and feminists remained largely separate, if not hostile to each other. Women activists were often stigmatized and women's issues considered secondary to nationalist or socialist goals. In Ukraine, for example, women fighting for their rights had to overcome opposition within the nationalist movement, becoming, as the historian Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak has observed, "feminists despite themselves."<sup>71</sup>

It took one war and one revolution to win suffrage for Finnish women; it would take two wars and two revolutions for women in Russia proper to gain these rights. Unlike in Finland, unity on the issue of women's suffrage in Russia proved much harder to attain. Ironically, Kollontai and Miliukov, two political leaders with close ties to Finland, proved particularly influential in blocking the creation of a coalition of liberals, nationalists, feminists, and socialists similar to the one that brought the Finnish victory.

## The Second Duma

After the tsar's dissolution of the Duma on July 21, 1906, the mood among those who had rejoiced at the possibilities for change grew desolate. Some turned inward, away from politics. Paul Miliukov was absent or distracted during much of 1906 and into the summer of 1907, heavily involved in his affair with Marie Petite, the French translator of *Russia and Its Crisis*. He seriously considered leaving his family. Anna Miliukova left no public record of her reactions to the many changes in her life after marriage, but she complained privately in letters to her friend Natalia Vernadskaia about Miliukov's affair with "the French girl." In Miliukova's account the couple had a major quarrel on New Year's Day 1907 over Miliukov's refusal to end the affair and its effect on his work while the Duma was in session. "He has gone abroad," Miliukova wrote, "and it has all started up again."

For Miliukova the affair was like a roller-coaster ride that had to be endured: "Now he says that he has liquidated the relationship . . . then he says that he will never leave her, that he feels himself connected to her. . . . One has to wait, not knowing how it will all end." She seriously considered leaving him; he claimed he didn't care, and their arguments reduced her to tears. He belittled her but feared a scandal if they split up. When Marie Petite returned to Paris in early 1907, she kept up a daily correspondence with Miliukov. They were together when he traveled to Europe during the Duma's Easter recess. The affair appears to have ended in the summer, when Miliukov returned to his family. Marie Petite subsequently married the French publisher Jouvain but exhausted herself with her charitable activities and died suddenly. Miliukov arrived in Paris too late to see her alive. On her deathbed she lay with "a heavy black Catholic cross pressing down on her weak chest." He later wrote in his memoirs that this was "one of the most difficult experiences of my life."<sup>72</sup>

It was a bleak time for feminists in more stable family situations as well. When Ekaterina Chekhova, her siblings, and her parents moved to St. Petersburg from Moscow in 1906, she described the changed mood. The reactionary backlash "depleted the ranks of the revolutionary intelligentsia—some were exiled, others—fell silent; innumerable societies and unions were closed, the stream of political literature dried up, the satirical journals disappeared. . . . All around there developed a clear and palpable emptiness. It was dead . . . and the Women's Equal Rights Union ceased to exist."<sup>73</sup> The Women's Union as a mass organization fell victim to internal conflicts and external repression. Its leaders continued to carry on the battle in the Second Duma, allying when possible with the Russian Women's



Society, the Women's Progressive Party, and the League for Women's Equal Rights. The feminists relied on legal and peaceful strategies, lobbying, petitioning, penning newspaper and journal articles, pamphleteering, and addressing public meetings to sway the Duma deputies.

Convened on February 20, 1907, the Second Duma, with more than a hundred socialist deputies (the socialists had abandoned their boycott and ran candidates) in addition to a sizable Trudovik delegation, was more radical than the First Duma had been. To exploit this situation and lobby more effectively, the still active Women's Union leaders appointed specific lobbyists to the liberal and left parties, ignoring parties to the right of the Kadets. A. C. Makar'eva and Maria Chekhova were delegates to the Kadets and Trudoviks; L. N. Lenskaia to the Kadets and Social Democrats. Liubov Gurevich was also assigned to the Social Democrats. V. M. Nevezhina and Chekhova were assigned to the Socialist Revolutionaries. S. A. Tiurbert, M. A. Veisbein, and Shchepkina were delegates to the Moslems.<sup>74</sup>

The responses to the women showed again that animosity to women's rights was not exclusive to the right. Nevertheless, the consensus among most liberal and left deputies had if anything grown stronger. The lobbyists themselves reflected the range of opinion among feminists. Nevezhina and Chekhova, speaking to the deputies of the Socialist Revolutionaries, linked feminism to socialism, stating that "only under socialism . . . is the full equality of women possible, but socialism . . . must be fought for. Each individual victory for women's rights is a step forward on the path to socialism." Responding for the Socialist Revolutionaries, Gorbunov pledged that his party would never retreat from their full commitment to women's rights. The Moslems and Trudoviks were equally favorable. The Kadets, through Prince Dolgorukov, the head of their delegation, responded with an affirmation of their firm support for the "holy cause."<sup>75</sup> According to the *Soiuz zhenshchin* account, probably written by Chekhova, only the Social Democrats were hostile. In their meeting with these deputies, Chekhova challenged the claim that women could only achieve real change after the revolution.<sup>76</sup> The Duma deputy Aleksinskii angrily denied the need for a separate women's organization, claiming that women's rights could only be achieved with the final victory of the proletariat. Gurevich replied by citing the German Marxist August Bebel, "who looks on this question more broadly and does not deny the significance of an autonomous women's movement."<sup>77</sup>

Once the Second Duma convened, the Trudoviks again led the fight for women's rights in the Duma and the Kadets disappointed. Petitions again proved a popular strategy. In the First Duma women's rights supporters presented peti-

tions totaling between eight thousand and ten thousand signatures.<sup>78</sup> They deluged the Second Duma with even more. In May 1907 the Trudovik deputies presented a suffrage resolution from the Women's Union to the Duma, including a petition with more than twenty thousand signatures. A coalition of twenty women's groups, including the Women's Progressive Party, the Russian Women's Society, and the League for Women's Equal Rights sent petitions with eight thousand more signatures. Great efforts were made to distribute petitions and collect signatures among as many people as possible. The Union alone sent out three thousand petitions to 1,037 addresses. The petitions were translated into all the languages of the Russian Empire. Provincial newspapers printed them; one sent copies to all its subscribers, gaining from this five hundred signatures. Those who signed the petitions came from 122 towns and villages in the Russian Empire, as well as Geneva and Berne in Switzerland. Signed petitions came from Finland, and several thousand signatures were solicited separately by Polish feminist organizations. In total, signatures came from every single province in the empire except Simbirsk.<sup>79</sup>

The petition drive gave feminist activists an opportunity to reach out directly to people all over the country. Maria Chekhova's eldest daughter, Ekaterina Chekhova, remembered: "I call from entryway to entryway, climb stairs, descend into basements, enter courtyards and suggest signing under the appeal [for women's suffrage]."<sup>80</sup> Large numbers of signatures were collected in a relatively short time, from people of varied class backgrounds. The majority of the signatures were gathered in the cities. Those who signed petition number 1230, for example, included a weaver, several factory workers, a former factory worker, a teacher, a domestic servant, and a baroness, M. M. Korff. Petition 1230's signatories were all women, but other petitions had as many signatures from men as from women. Men also distributed petitions and solicited signatures themselves. Some signed petitions for their illiterate wives and daughters. One St. Petersburg cabdriver submitted a petition for his wife and daughters: "Mitrofan Starostin by request and on account of illiteracy, for his wife Avdot'ia Starostina, his seventeen-year-old daughter Agrafena, his nineteen-year-old daughter Matrena, and his twenty-two-year-old daughter Fekla."<sup>81</sup> The Second Duma brought renewed hope. "It was a time," observed Ekaterina Chekhova, "of great revolutionary fervor, which enveloped everyone." Rarely did someone refuse to sign.<sup>82</sup>

Some of the responses of people who signed the petitions are illustrative and reflect the spread of ideas about women's rights to areas outside the urban educated classes in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Much has been made of male peasant opposition to women's rights, but the feminists appear to have succeeded in

winning some support. By the Second Duma, signatures of entire villages could be found on Women's Union petitions.<sup>83</sup> Teachers, both female and male, played an important role in spreading ideas about women's rights, especially in the countryside. Some teachers joined in the petition drive and recruited their students.<sup>84</sup> A young peasant woman wrote from a remote part of Saratov Province: "In Russia there are many women aspiring to the attainment of their rights, but not knowing how. . . . My teacher gave me petition No. 1038 'to the Duma' which justly demands equal rights for women. I am collecting the signatures of men. As soon as I get 100, I will give it back to my teacher."<sup>85</sup> Despite the great efforts involved in obtaining the twenty-seven thousand to twenty-nine thousand signatures on the suffrage petitions, this was, as Pokrovskaja observed, just a drop in the bucket, in an empire with a total population of about 140 million. Pokrovskaja could only console herself by noting that the number was much higher than the total on petitions submitted to the First Duma.<sup>86</sup>

As in other countries, the feminists organized countless public meetings and speaking tours to publicize their message. Shchepkina gave her talks on the history of the women's movement many times. In her lectures she covered such topics as the appearance of the women's movement in Europe and the New World, the "woman question" in the nineteenth century and its relation to ideas of constitutionalism, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and its activities, the legal position of women in Russia, the fate of the female intelligentsia, customary law in the villages, the evolution of the peasant family, and the contemporary women's movement and its goals.<sup>87</sup> Feminists maintained their ties with the international women's movement and brought news of Western developments back home. Zinaida Mirovich was part of the Women's Union delegation to the August 1906 International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress in Copenhagen, where she and others told their tale of feminism and revolution to an attentive audience representing activists from around the world. Mirovich then returned and toured with a series of lectures about the women's movement in Europe and the United States. Vol'kenshtein similarly lectured on the women's movement in the West and in Russia.<sup>88</sup>

In most places feminist speakers addressed packed halls and sympathetic audiences. But as the tsarist regime regained its strength, official resistance and obstruction grew. Sometimes no advertising of lectures was permitted. In some provincial towns no discussion following the talks was allowed.<sup>89</sup> The obstruction was not limited to the provinces. In St. Petersburg, in February 1907, discussion after a Pokrovskaja talk entitled "What Women Should Do to Attain Equality

with Men” was stopped by the attending police officer because “all that was being discussed was critical of existing laws.”<sup>90</sup>

The Second Duma had a lifespan not much longer than the seventy-two days of its predecessor. Despite increased lobbying and petitions by the feminists, much less attention was paid in the Second Duma to the woman question. Though proposals and petitions on women’s suffrage were presented by the Trudoviks, these were not considered before the Duma was dissolved on June 3, 1907. In Finland nineteen women representatives took their places in the Finnish Parliament.<sup>91</sup> In the Russian Duma the issue of women’s rights surfaced for debate only in the deliberations about the Duma staff. Rules for the staff provided that “women will be employed in Duma offices only as typists, bookkeepers, librarians and stenographers.”<sup>92</sup> Their hostile encounter with the feminist lobbyists notwithstanding, the Social Democratic deputies, arguing for the elimination of such Duma staff rules, proved the staunchest defenders of women’s rights on this issue. The Kadets once again failed to live up to their pledge to support the “holy cause.” Instead, they responded by raising the timeliness argument. The historian and Kadet Alexander Kizevetter (1866–1933) contended that this matter could be postponed until a later date, that the future of the Duma hung in the balance and that it should not be destroyed because of this issue.<sup>93</sup>

Feminist commentators considered the Kadet objections to be characteristic and simply smoke screens for sexism. Vol’kenshtein commented later that even such a relatively minor issue as job discrimination on the Duma staff elicited deep-seated prejudices. Too many deputies still considered women unworthy of work other than that of the lowest rank. The battle for the hearts and minds of all of the Kadet deputies had still not been won. Citing parallels with the harsh opposition of radical French revolutionary leaders to women’s suffrage, Praskov’ia Arian called Miliukov and his allies “little Robespierres, Dantons, and Mirabeaus” for seeking to block women’s suffrage.<sup>94</sup>

The Duma’s fate had been precarious, but not because of any discussion of women’s rights. The government had gained the upper hand, quelled social unrest, and would not tolerate a Duma dominated by the left and liberals. The tsar’s 1906 appointment of Peter Stolypin as prime minister had heralded a repressive response to the revolutions of 1905. Special courts condemned so many to death by hanging that the ropes were known as “Stolypin’s neckties.” Many fled into exile; they could expect imprisonment or worse if caught by the tsarist police. Socialist party activists bore the brunt of the fiercest attacks. Mass organizations

connected to the Socialist Revolutionaries, such as peasant, railroad, and teachers' unions, were decimated as the agents of the tsarist state hunted, jailed, or "disappeared" national, regional, and local activists.<sup>95</sup> On June 1, 1907, Stolypin claimed that Social Democratic deputies were planning an armed uprising. On June 3 the tsar dissolved this Duma.

### *Soiuz zhenshchin* (Women's Union)

In the same month, into the atmosphere of dashed hopes and increased repression stepped a new feminist journal. Maria Chekhova edited *Soiuz zhenshchin* (Women's Union) for the entire two-and-a-half years of its existence, from June 1907 to December 1909. Like *Zhenskii vestnik* the journal from the start was financially precarious. Though it was authorized by the Women's Union's Third Delegate Congress in May 1906, the first issue of *Soiuz zhenshchin* did not appear until thirteen months later, in June 1907.<sup>96</sup> By then the Union of Women was already falling apart from internal strife, lack of resources and support, and police repression. Chekhova, a voluminous diarist, had little or no journalistic experience, although she was close to those who wrote for and published the populist thick journal *Russkoe bogatstvo* (Russian wealth). Nevertheless, Chekhova was key to making *Soiuz zhenshchin* a reality, marshalling backers and writers from across the feminist spectrum, including such left feminists as Liubov Gurevich and Vol'kenshtein as well as the Kadets Miliukova, Ruttsen, and Tyrkova.

The contributors' list for the first and subsequent issues reads like a who's who of feminist activists, including Filosofova, Mirovich, Gurevich, Vol'kenshtein, Margulies, Kal'manovich, Miliukova, and Vakhterova, as well as their male supporters, including the Trudovik leader S. V. Anikin, V. P. Vakhterov of the Union of Teachers, the Kadets Petrazhitskii, Nikolai Shchepkin, and Gessen, and an Archbishop Mikhail.<sup>97</sup> Once launched, *Soiuz zhenshchin* staked out its ground within the women's movement and within the larger genre of women's journals. Like *Zhenskii vestnik*, but unlike other publications aimed at women, the journal had no fashion advertising. It did accept advertising for other publications, such as *Dlia narodnogo uchitel'ia* (For the public school teacher), *Teosoficheskoe obozrenie* (Theosophical review), and *Vestnik kurortov i lechebnykh uchrezhdenii* (Sanitoria and health resorts herald), reflecting the profession and predilections of many of the journal's readers. The journal appeared monthly except in the summer; issues

ranged between sixteen and forty pages, and the press run was a thousand per issue. The price of *Soiuz zhenshchin* was reasonable; issues cost fifteen kopeks, amounting to one-and-a-half rubles a year. Women workers averaged about three rubles a week.<sup>98</sup>

As Ekaterina Chekhova recalled: “She [Maria] arrived in St. Petersburg already a fully formed public figure, experienced, with connections, with a defined program.” Although she had never edited a journal before, Chekhova focused “all her love and attention, as in all her work” on her new project. She viewed the *Soiuz zhenshchin* as a voice in the wilderness, a way to keep before society the “problems of the woman question.” The journal would serve as a vehicle for increasing “the cadres of conscious women.”<sup>99</sup>

All the feminist journals operated in very modest circumstances; *Soiuz zhenshchin* was no exception. Its “office” was a specially designed cabinet in the dining room of the Chekhov apartment (number nine) on the fourth floor of a large apartment house at 84 Nikolaevskii Street, at the corner of Nikolaevskii and Zvenigorodskii streets, close to the center of the city. The cabinet had compartments for manuscripts, correspondence, and exchange copies of newspapers and other journals. Every morning Chekhova’s two assistants—the “very handsome” N. F. Novozhilov and the “sluggish taciturn” Maria Iakovlevna Morozova, as described by Ekaterina Chekhova—came to work in the dining room and ate with the family.<sup>100</sup> The *Soiuz zhenshchin* editorial collective also met in the dining room. Ekaterina Chekhova remembered serving tea at their meetings, addressing mail, reading submissions to the journal, while at the same time keeping up with her studies in the advanced class of her high school. The collective did more than manage the journal; they became a kind of community outreach center. They developed ties with an artisans’ cooperative in Voronezh Province, and the editorial collective offered legal consultations and organized a conference of women auditing university courses at a time when the government sought to close women’s access to higher educational institutions.<sup>101</sup>

Reflecting her continuing commitment to the cause of children’s learning, at the same time as she edited *Soiuz zhenshchin*, Chekhova assumed the presidency of the Society for Aid to Pre-School Education (Obshchestvo sodeistviia doshkol’nomu vospitaniuu). To accommodate all those who wished to consult with her on the woman question and preschool education, she had visiting hours several times a week. Her daughter remembered that during those hours the doorbell rang constantly and people sat in the hall, in her father’s office, and in the dining room, patiently waiting their turn.<sup>102</sup>

*Soiuz zhenshchin* advocated for socialist feminism, but in a way that distinguished itself both from Pokrovskaiia's *Zhenskii vestnik* and the orthodox socialist parties. The key elements of this position were articulated, primarily by Chekhova, in the publication's early issues. The first was that voting rights were a key goal for women's liberation. *Soiuz zhenshchin*'s masthead proclaimed: "This journal will be dedicated to questions connected with equal rights for women and primarily for their voting rights which is the first necessary step on the path to their liberation."<sup>103</sup> Second, women themselves had to fight for their rights. Bitter experience with liberal and socialist men made this clear: "The political liberation of women must be only in the hands of women."<sup>104</sup> Third, the full liberation of women was possible "only when all exploitation of one person by another is ended, that is, under socialism."<sup>105</sup> Finally, the fight for women's rights had to be connected with the liberation movement as a whole, thus distinguishing the Women's Equal Rights Union from "narrow feminism."<sup>106</sup>

The Union and its journal eschewed the label "feminist." There was no mention of feminism on the masthead. Indeed, when there was a reference to feminism, it was usually in a negative context. For example, an unsigned editorial in the second issue, probably written by Chekhova, decried "that naïve and near-sighted feminism which dreams about resolving the woman question outside of ties with general political and social questions, equalizing women's rights with men independent of general rights and social equality."<sup>107</sup> Firmly committed to a view of the woman question that emphasized political equality, Chekhova was especially critical of the radical feminism expressed by Maria Pokrovskaiia. Pokrovskaiia emphasized the primacy of the oppression of women and traced its origins to ancient times. Not limiting herself to the realm of institutional politics, Pokrovskaiia encouraged debates about sexuality, free love, and marriage, and crusaded against legalized prostitution. More traditional in her home and family life, Chekhova accused Pokrovskaiia of having "unfounded dreams and idealistic airy sentences." She vilified her feminist rival repeatedly in the pages of *Soiuz zhenshchin* for her views, once classifying them as "vague Christian utopianism."<sup>108</sup>

While editorially committed to socialist feminism, *Soiuz zhenshchin* accommodated a range of liberal and left perspectives within its pages. Tyrkova, the only woman on the Kadet Central Committee, the independent socialist feminist Liubov Gurevich, the Socialist Revolutionary Vol'kenshtein, and the avowedly feminist Kal'manovich found common ground in writing for *Soiuz zhenshchin*.<sup>109</sup> Typical of Tyrkova's writing was the pamphlet *Pobeda zhenshchiny* (The woman's

victory), extensively quoted by Chekhova in the October 1907 issue. In this article Tyrkova touched on themes related to women's readiness to enter the political arena, her strong disagreements with separatist feminists, and national loyalty. Women had to combat Russia's "legacy of serfdom," the socialization that resulted in the "blind negation of individual personality" and the "dangerous separation of women's interests from the interests of the entire country."<sup>110</sup>

Gurevich was very involved in trying to keep *Soiuz zhenshchin* afloat and providing moral support to her friend Chekhova. Gurevich's *Soiuz zhenshchin* articles focused on her experiences and those of others lobbying for women's rights in the Duma and with left and liberal political parties. She wrote two articles for *Soiuz zhenshchin* in 1907, about attitudes toward women's rights among peasants and city and zemstvo representatives.<sup>111</sup> Gurevich's correspondence with Chekhova provides a tantalizing clue to the links between socialists and feminists. In an undated letter, probably written earlier in 1908, Gurevich suggested that Chekhova contact Zoia Shadurskaia about working for *Soiuz zhenshchin*. Shadurskaia had visited Gurevich and expressed an interest in working at the feminist journal, stressing that she was "not a party member" and "fears no one." Gurevich recommended her highly, noting that Shadurskaia had spoken earlier to Gurevich's sister, Anna. Significantly, Shadurskaia was Alexandra Kollontai's oldest and closest friend and was living with Kollontai and her son at the time.<sup>112</sup> Gurevich does not mention Kollontai; it is not clear that she knew about her friend's plans. Gurevich might have been trying to make a connection through Shadurskaia to Kollontai. Ultimately, Shadurskaia did not join *Soiuz zhenshchin*, however, and at the end of 1908, Kollontai fled into a long European exile.

Gurevich's pattern of public activity reflects some of the special obstacles faced by women who sought to live an independent and autonomous life without great wealth or the support of a male partner. Discouraged by the feminists' lack of success, the intensified government repression, and her growing indebtedness, Gurevich confessed to Maria Chekhova in 1908 that she would have to drop out of political activity to support herself and her daughter, Elena. "I have spent too much of my energy all my life," she wrote, "trying to resolve in practice the 'woman question,' fighting my way with a child in my arms and without any help."<sup>113</sup> Gurevich ceased writing for *Soiuz zhenshchin* and in 1908 announced the resumption of her literary career, most notably as a critic. She became close to the dramatist Konstantin Stanislavskii, serving as the first editor of his theoretical works and becoming an enthusiastic supporter of the Moscow Art Theater.<sup>114</sup>



## The Third Duma

The new electoral law of June 3, 1907, engineered by Stolypin, marked the “real end of the ‘Revolution of 1905.’” The law, by increasing representation by large landowners and by ethnic Russians, ensured that the Third Duma would be more conservative and nationalist than its predecessors. One historian has characterized it as “an illegitimate child of western democratic ideas and of the Russian autocracy.”<sup>115</sup> Elected in October 1907, this assembly had large representation on the right and only a handful of representatives on the left, mostly Social Democrats. The Socialist Revolutionaries boycotted the election; Trudovik representation decreased to thirteen; the Kadets and their allies were down from ninety-eight to fifty-six. The Octobrists, sympathetic to a constitutional monarchy, with 154 representatives had the most power and influence. They could form a majority by aligning with the Nationalists on their right or the Progressives and Kadets on their left.<sup>116</sup>

Until the promulgation of the June 3 electoral law, the Octobrists had largely ignored the issue of women’s rights, failing to mention it at all in their program and arguing that women’s rights resolutions in the Duma were premature.<sup>117</sup> With the fall elections to the Third Duma, the Octobrists for the first time openly sought female support, in a statement invoking the stereotype of morally superior women as “the great movers of civilization; the carrier of its moral foundations and the conciliator in the war of passions” and urging the “citizenesses of the city of Moscow . . . to take an energetic role in the upcoming elections and help the moderate progressives win.”<sup>118</sup> What explains the Octobrists’ sudden interest in women? With the electoral law now weighted heavily in favor of the landowning class, the one area in which women had a limited franchise now became significant. Since 1864, all women who met the property requirements could vote in zemstvo and town council elections, through a male proxy.<sup>119</sup> This right could be exercised in the State Duma elections, and the Octobrists urged women with proxy votes to make sure they were cast for their party.<sup>120</sup>

Response in the two feminist journals was quick and angry. The Union journal *Soiuz zhenshchin* editorialized against the Octobrists. *Soiuz zhenshchin* also reprinted a statement by a group of Moscow women accusing the Octobrists of blatant political opportunism. If the Octobrists really wanted the support of women, they would include a women’s rights plank in their platform, argued the Muscovites.<sup>121</sup> Pokrovskaiia, in the *Zhenskii vestnik*, noted that the Octobrists

might print appeals to women, but their real attitudes could be found in other sections of their publications. A story in the party's paper *Golos Moskvy* (Voice of Moscow), entitled "Stepnoi plennik" (Steppe prisoner), invoked the specter of the Amazon peril, telling of a boy captured by a tribe of female warriors. In the tribe a reverse sexual order held sway. Men were used for women's sexual gratification, and the boy was astonished to find not one free male in the entire camp. This multilayered tale of male titillation and sexual anxiety, to Pokrovskaiia, reflected better than appeals to women's moral superiority the Octobrists' true feelings about the emancipation of women. If women had power, the story proclaimed, with their unquenchable passions, they would sexually dominate men. Viewing women as Amazons or Athenas, the Octobrists could not move beyond stereotypes.<sup>122</sup>

The Octobrists further sought to win over women of their class once the Third Duma convened. Limited suffrage proposals had been favored by feminists in other countries, including England and the United States. On January 25, 1908, the Octobrists submitted a proposal signed by thirty deputies, including Octobrist leaders Rodzianko and Guchkov, recommending a change in the electoral law to allow women with the right property qualifications active suffrage. This meant they could vote without proxies but could not be in the electoral assemblies or curiae or hold any elective office.<sup>123</sup> An earlier version that proposed granting both active and passive suffrage to women had been rejected by the party. Although their sisters elsewhere had accepted such proposals, even conservative Russian feminists were wary of this attempt to water down their demands for full universal suffrage.<sup>124</sup>

In a statement reprinted in the *Soiuz zhenshchin*, Evgeniia Avilova, head of the suffrage section of the Russian Women's Society, took the Octobrists to task for several points in their proposal. She noted that the number of women property owners who could vote would actually be cut even by comparison with the law of 1864. Further, she argued, the bill did not really provide equal suffrage rights. Depriving women of passive suffrage rights applied a different standard to women than to men. To Avilova, the Octobrists were less interested in the rights of women than in attempting to better their own electoral position.<sup>125</sup>

The combination of feminist anger and Octobrist clumsiness reached its peak at a March 27, 1908, meeting at which Prince Golitsyn spoke about the party proposal. Avilova and other members of the suffrage section were in the audience. Golitsyn emphasized his belief that both women and men of the same class should have the same privileges and rights, but when challenged on the obvious inequalities in the Octobrist proposal, according to the *Soiuz zhenshchin*

account, all the party members present, including Golitsyn, denied any responsibility for what had been submitted to the Duma.<sup>126</sup> Still, behind the opposition to the Octobrist proposal there could be discerned a weakening of the feminist position on universal suffrage. Avilova, though she saw the blatant transparency of the Octobrist attempt to create a ruling-class bloc of women and men, attacked not the notion of voting weighted by class but rather the failure to apply the same standards to property-owning women and men.

In making their proposal, the Octobrists may in part have been heeding the advice of women of their class. The philosopher Maria Bezobrazova, writing in *Soiuz zhenshchin* a few months before the Octobrist proposal was introduced in the Duma, argued that giving both active and passive suffrage to women property owners would “change the picture of rural life.” The exodus of men from the countryside left a surfeit of female landowners and too few men to manage local government properly. Women, to Bezobrazova, would be at least as good and possibly better managers than men. As with some feminists in other countries, arguments for women’s rights could be made for those who wished to bolster the existing class or power structure rather than dismantle it.<sup>127</sup>

The *Soiuz zhenshchin* editors, reiterating their support for universal suffrage, printed a disclaimer after the Bezobrazova article: “In printing the M. Bezobrazova article as the expression of a well-known segment of society, the editors consider it their responsibility to note that in their opinion reform of zemstvo self-government can happen only on the basis of universal suffrage for both men and women.”<sup>128</sup> But by March 1908, *Soiuz zhenshchin* printed an article by the Kadet Duma deputy Alexander Ruttsen, brother of Women’s Union founder Liudmila Ruttsen, advocating acceptance of the Octobrist proposal as a first step for women. Alexander noted the deficiencies of the proposal but argued that the provisions giving women active suffrage and extending proxy privileges to girls were some, albeit small, compensation for the failure to extend passive voting rights to women. Six months after Bezobrazova’s article, no disclaimer appeared after Ruttsen’s proposal.<sup>129</sup>

Ruttsen’s advocacy of limited suffrage was purely tactical. On June 27, 1908, he joined Miliukov and fifty-two of the fifty-four-member Kadet delegation in introducing the final women’s suffrage proposal submitted to the Third Duma. This proposal, both more sweeping and more limited, proposed to grant universal suffrage to all Russian citizens over twenty-one and legally resident in a city for more than six months. The Kadets thus could strengthen their support and increase their numbers among urban voters without stirring up the specter of male peasant prejudices. The bill’s sponsors argued that women’s “participation in local

economic matters is extremely important, does not conflict with many laws of other states, and is the first stage in the achievement by women of political rights.”<sup>130</sup>

The proposal died in committee, however. The Kadet bill, aimed at expanding the urban electorate, could not have won the support of the Octobrists, who sought to expand the number of rural landowning voters. Perhaps it was simply a symbolic gesture to Kadet feminists such as Miliukova and Tyrkova, in advance of the All-Russian Women’s Congress scheduled to convene in December 1908. The failure of the Kadet proposal simply underlined the obvious. The Duma, greeted with such enthusiasm two years before, was now the graveyard of hopes for the quick realization of women’s political equality. As Pokrovskaia noted, “The optimistic expectations of women for equal rights, called forth by the First Duma, had already begun to fade by the Second. The Third Duma destroyed them completely.”<sup>131</sup>

Those women still carrying the tattered banner of equal rights took stock of their dwindling resources and the change in the country’s political climate and sought new strategies with which to mount a successful drive for their goals. Both feminist publications acknowledged the need for different approaches. The editors of *Soiuz zhenshchin*, in the anomalous position of publishing the journal of an organization that, practically speaking, did not exist, addressed the issue of their much weakened tactical position. They compared the situation to the period before 1905. Then, a series of congresses had served to keep opposition elements together and renew energy. Now, a women’s congress could serve the same purpose. Such a congress, they wrote, should have a threefold significance: “organizational for women in general; agitational for society as a whole; and educational and theoretical for people specially working on the woman question.”<sup>132</sup>

Pokrovskaia, in the first issue of *Zhenskii vestnik* for 1908, dismissed the Third Duma as “this ghost of a popular assembly [which] could hardly break the fetters that bind women. They are as incapable of this as they are of establishing freedom for all the Russian people.” Defiantly, she vowed: “We won’t look with hope to these petty people. . . . We will move forward past them and we will find new ways to attain our sacred goal—equal rights.” Pokrovskaia also welcomed the plans for a women’s congress as a “review of those forces Russian women will have at their disposal in the fight for equality.”<sup>133</sup>

Three years after the emergence of feminist organizations in the euphoria of 1905, women’s rights supporters could look back at what they had accomplished, but look ahead, whether defiantly or resignedly, to an uncertain future. The revolutionary year of 1905 had marked the emergence of women’s rights organizations,

ranging from a society to clubs to a union to a political party. The high hopes of that year had been replaced by the reality of government-led repression and the curtailment of the promises of the October Manifesto. The Third Duma, dominated by conservative landowners, was hostile to women's rights. The largest women's rights organization, the Women's Union, was essentially defunct. The main weapons of the feminists, public meetings and pamphleteering, were both severely curtailed by government monitoring and censorship. Although women were not generally jailed in the post-1905 reaction, many male family members were.

Still, the balance sheet was not all bad. Finnish women had won a pioneering victory. Although the feminist rank and file had diminished, the cadre of leaders who emerged in 1905 remained largely intact and active. This situation was not unlike that of other liberal and left parties, which in the changing conditions had to rely on committed cadres of activists rather than a larger mass movement. Three of the four feminist organizations continued their work. Two feminist journals still appeared, despite censorship. Organizations and activists addressing other issues of concern to women, such as the Society for the Defense of Women and those supporting equal access to education, remained active. The sometimes fierce battles over women's suffrage, especially within the Kadet party, had dissipated. The leader of the opposition, Paul Miliukov, appeared to have capitulated, with his support for the limited women's suffrage proposal presented to the Third Duma. Thus by 1908 on the liberal-left spectrum no significant opposition to women's rights remained; the feminists had won a consensus if not in active support, at least in tacit acknowledgment of women's rights. And after 1908, Miliukov and the Kadets eclipsed the Trudoviks in advocating for women.

## The First All-Russian Women's Congress

THE WOMEN'S PARLIAMENT (ZHENSKII PARLAMENT)

I sit in my hut, await more births, and think of the Women's Congress.

—*Letter from a midwife to Anna Shabanova, 1908*

THOUSANDS OF small electric lamps illuminated the spacious Alexander Hall (Aleksandrovskii zal) in the St. Petersburg City Hall on the night of December 10, 1908. A substantial crowd had gathered by eight o'clock, filling the hall to overflowing. The City Hall had been the scene of many other meetings and conferences, but this was the first time that the participants, numbering more than a thousand, were almost entirely female. They had gathered to attend the First All-Russian Women's Congress (Pervyi Vserossiiskii zhenskii s'ezd), held from December 10 through 16.<sup>1</sup> The Kadet Ariadna Tyrkova, a Women's Congress organizer, considered it an unprecedented show of female solidarity; many called it the "first Russian women's Parliament."<sup>2</sup> Fur-clad women mixed with plainly dressed women physicians; all wore the official Women's Congress badges, which proclaimed "equal responsibilities, equal rights" (*ravnyiia obiazannosti, ravnyiia prava*). Off to the side, a small modestly dressed group of women workers eyed the scene. Alexandra Kollontai, then a Menshevik and more elegantly dressed than most of her arch-

rival feminists, urged her worker comrade Klavdiia Nikolaeva forward in the glittering surroundings: "Be bolder, Klava, be bolder."<sup>3</sup>

"'The woman question'—say the feminists—is a question of 'rights and justice.' 'The woman question'—answer the women workers—is a question of a crust of bread." Thus began Kollontai's speech at the Women's Congress.<sup>4</sup> Pursued by the police, Kollontai could not personally deliver her talk; she had to abandon her comrades a day before the congress ended. The most prominent Russian socialist feminist was forced to flee on December 15, remaining in western European exile for almost nine years.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, her interpretation of the 1908 congress, emphasizing its "bourgeois" delegates and its "bourgeois" politics, remained the dominant narrative throughout the Soviet period and still has strong resonance. Even today, when all things Soviet are challenged, the Soviet-era equation of "bourgeois" and "feminist" persists despite the best efforts of a new generation of women's history scholars.<sup>6</sup> Continuing her critique in *The Social Origins of the Woman Question*, published by Maxim Gorkii in 1909, Kollontai, in her most detailed attack against the feminists and specifically the 1908 congress, wrote: "To resolve to demand equal rights with men, a woman must above all be economically independent."<sup>7</sup> Kollontai had set up a straw woman, for most feminists sided with her. At the 1908 congress the overwhelming majority of delegates agreed about the importance of economic issues to women and about the need for systemic change. The fiercest debates occurred not in the second section, on the economic situation of women, but in the third section, devoted to the political and civil status of women. The most contentious issue was not bread but ballots.

Congresses, popular in the United States and Europe, came to Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within a context in which free expression was heavily regulated by the state, they provided relatively open forums, a venue "for public debate on a wide range of national policy issues, many of which, such as corporal punishment, universal public education, and government economic policy, were highly controversial."<sup>8</sup> Although part of this phenomenon, the Women's Congress has been largely invisible in the historical literature. Yet this forum for discussion about the status of Russian women won great attention at the time. Its feminist initiators wanted to show that women could successfully organize a large political gathering, deliberate, and make proposals. Despite the many obstacles put in their path by the authorities, feminist activists succeeded in organizing the largest women's legal gathering in prerevolutionary history.

Three years after women insisted on their place in the public debates about rights bursting forth during the 1905 revolution, the Women's Congress opened

at a time of increasingly reactionary government policies. Earlier in 1908, government officials, fearful that education radicalized women, had barred the admission of women to Russian universities.<sup>9</sup> Despite the repression, the congress provided a forum for airing a wide range of data, factional disputes, and consensus opinions in a relatively open atmosphere. The Women's Congress revealed lines of separation. For radical feminists, women's oppression was primary and patriarchy the root of all other injustices. For socialist feminists, women's oppression could be resolved only by the overthrow of the capitalist class system. Liberal feminists, mostly Kadets, favored an incremental approach, and progressive feminists, often with connections to the *Trudoviki*, articulated populist and democratic socialist views.

The congress also revealed many points of agreement. As more Russian women gained formal education and economic independence, the constituency for feminist ideas grew. Such women, generally fluent in several Western languages, knew the key debates about sex roles both within and outside of Russia. The articulation of alternatives to traditional patriarchal views of women's place in society, while still controversial, gained a constituency in this time of profound upheaval. Marking the end of the short-lived mass movement for women's rights, the 1908 congress took place as feminists transitioned to a period of smaller organizations and small deeds. Its significance goes beyond this shift, however, for congress participants presented the most comprehensive record of the overall status of women in the tsarist empire, spurred a pro-women's rights sentiment in society, won recognition within the global feminist movement, sparked changes in socialist organizing strategies, and even caught Nicholas II's attention.

What did the Women's Congress accomplish at the time and how can it be assessed now? Solidarity was a key theme, sounded often during the weeklong meeting. And this solidarity was to be with both sexes. The organizers took pains to invite supportive men. At the opening session, St. Petersburg's mayor, N. A. Reztsov, greeted the participants. The mayor helped to set a tone in opposition to the autocracy by publicly calling a "successful resolution" of women's political and civil situation the "center of gravity" of the congress. This was anathema to the tsarist government.<sup>10</sup> Husbands of prominent feminists played their part as well. Nikolai Chekhov published the Women's Congress daily bulletins. The most prominent liberal opponent of women's suffrage, Paul Miliukov, demonstrated his conversion to the cause of women's rights in a telegram greeting the congress and expressing his "profound conviction in the need to establish women's political and civil equality." Speaking at a congress reception for provincial attendees, Miliukov "apologized for underestimating the problem of equal political rights for women."



He was not alone; his party comrades dominated among male speakers. Kadet Duma representatives Iosif Gessen, Lev Petrazhitskii, Alexander Ruttsen, and Andrei Shingarev all gave talks at Women's Congress sessions.<sup>11</sup>

Veteran feminists from across the political spectrum, from the more conservative members of the Russian Women's Society to the more progressive Women's Union, joined in planning and organizing the Women's Congress, hoping that a new unified women's organization would result. Anna Filosofova did not expect to live to see women serving alongside men in the Duma, but she could feel such a time drawing near. The veteran feminist especially wanted to cap her years of activism with the creation of a National Council of Russian Women. She had tried to get official permission for the establishment of such a council for years but was met mostly by government indifference. Despite her persistent lobbying, when in May 1908 she appealed in writing to Prime Minister Stolypin as the "only person" who could give this permission, she received no reply. At the Women's Congress she appealed to the delegates. A national council would enable Russia to become an official member of the International Council of Women. "How," she asked, addressing the congress, "can we gain political and social rights and influence, if we ourselves cannot unite and mobilize women's power?"<sup>12</sup>

The congress alone could not fulfill Filosofova's hopes for a national council, but it did show a remarkable degree of unity about economic and educational issues. The greatest diversity of opinion among advocates for the cause of women came in the political section. Despite the organizers' fears that the authorities would close the Women's Congress before it could conclude, only a few sessions were interrupted or stopped. All ended as scheduled, but not as organizers had projected. Anna Filosofova's dream of unifying Russian women in a national council won approval, but it was conflicts over suffrage resolutions that dominated the last general session.

### Women's Congress Participants

Was this, as Kollontai claimed, a "ladies congress"?<sup>13</sup> What kind of people composed the congress crowd? Baronesses and princesses were in attendance, but so were the Socialist Revolutionaries Maria Spiridonova and Olga Vol'kenshtein and the Bolshevik Anna Gurevich.<sup>14</sup> Most contemporary observers were particularly impressed with the size of the gathering, the "rippling sea of women's heads." The worker Anna Ivanova saw "the 'cream' of the Petersburg and provincial aristocracy

and bourgeoisie, the wives of ministers, high officials, factory owners, merchants, well known lady philanthropists.” Another observer downplayed the high society presence, noting that “evening dresses and frock-coats completely disappeared in the vast multitudes of women.” The Menshevik journalist Osip A. Ermanskii noted three identifiable groups. On the stage, behind a long table, “comfortably seated in two rows of chairs,” sat the members of the organizing committee, “typical Petersburg ‘lady-patronesses.’” On the other side of the hall, sharply contrasting with the women on the dais, was a small group of women workers. Young, dressed simply, unused to such a gathering, they talked shyly among themselves and to their *intelligentki* sympathizers. But by far the largest group, filling the hall and overflowing into the corridor, was distinct from both the ladies and the workers. Many belonged to the progressive intelligentsia; badges identifying participants as doctors were common. Most were affluent enough to afford the five-ruble registration fee but hardly wealthy.<sup>15</sup>

The available statistical evidence about the Women's Congress participants confirms the impressionistic evidence. The data is not definitive because it applies only to 243 of the 1,053 people officially listed as registrants for the congress, and of these, only 4 workers. Most of the workers had left the congress before the questionnaire was distributed. Nevertheless, the statistics are suggestive. A majority of those responding were between the ages of thirty and fifty (60 percent); 27 percent were younger and 13 percent older. The majority (58 percent) were married; 28 percent were unmarried, 12 percent were widows, and 1 percent were in “free marriages.” They were relatively well educated. More than half had finished secondary school (54 percent); 30 percent had higher education; 16 percent had only the equivalent of a grammar school education. Over half (57 percent) had their own careers, but a sizable minority (42 percent) either did not indicate their own work or were not engaged in paid work.<sup>16</sup>

Of the women employed outside the home, those in the “free professions” (doctors, teachers, writers, artists) represented 75 percent of those who filled out the questionnaire. The remaining group included 14 percent who were employed in public or private institutions, and 11 percent who were either students or workers. Of those who were married, the majority had spouses who were professionals—doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers, teachers. Those from the provinces were more likely to be married to government officials or landowners (almost half in the case of women who had their own careers). Of the 243, a small percentage were in traditional marriages to bourgeois and gentry men. Fifteen (6 percent) were married to merchants, landowners, or capitalists. The majority of these women (11)

were not employed outside the home.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly, of the 1,053 participants, the majority (766) came from St. Petersburg. The next largest group, a much smaller number (49), came from Moscow. The rest came from various provincial areas, mostly towns and cities, such as Kharkov (19), Kiev (11), Rostov-na-Donu (8), Ekaterinoslav (6), Odessa (6), Warsaw (6), and Baku (5). A few of those who registered were from other countries. For example, Ekaterina Arbore-Ralli, daughter of the 1860s Russian revolutionary Zemfira Arbore-Ralli, traveled from Rumania. Ekaterina V. Bakunina came from the United States.<sup>18</sup>

One group, peasant women, the majority of Russia's female population, was noticeably absent in the congress registrants. Many factors kept peasant women away, including the difficulties of travel, family responsibilities, lack of money, lack of interest, ignorance about the congress. Does this mean that peasant women weren't interested? Representatives of the Trudovik/Peasant Party reported that some peasant women were sufficiently engaged and literate enough that they went from hut to hut to read reports of the Women's Congress sessions to each other. According to the Trudoviki, "they were interested in everything, even politics."<sup>19</sup> Trudovik representatives claimed that peasant women did not blame the congress planners for the absence of any delegates representing them. A number of factors prevented peasant women from attending. Government repression made it much harder for many of those feminists who had made contact with the countryside in 1905 and 1906 to reestablish those connections. Rural teachers, who had done important outreach to peasant women, were very much affected by this repression.

The Trudoviki, the most stalwart supporters of women's equal rights in the Duma, with extensive connections in the countryside, were less visible than the Kadets at the Women's Congress. They appear to have put a low priority on the gathering, failing to follow up on their promised recruiting efforts. Anna Filosofova, one of the chief organizers of the congress, remembered that two peasant women "personally promised me that they would come and then changed their minds. . . . We turned to the Trudoviki, they promised us, but did nothing, not understanding then the significance of the presence of rural women." Filosofova, whose consciousness was raised by witnessing the abuse of peasant women on her father-in-law's estate, made outreach to female peasants a priority. But she could not make their attendance a reality by herself. The aging aristocrat was unable to pursue the matter herself as poor health and a nervous condition developed late in life confined her to her house. "I felt terrified," she wrote about this period. She did not delegate the matter to anyone else and no one else appears to have made it a high priority.<sup>20</sup> Still, rural women watched the congress from afar. One

midwife wrote to Anna Shabanova: "I sit in my hut, await more births, and think of the Women's Congress."<sup>21</sup>

Olga Vol'kenshtein, the Socialist Revolutionary and former member of the Women's Union, was particularly critical of the failure to reach out to peasant women, contrasting the 1908 effort with those of the Women's Union: "With better organization of the congress and the assignment of travel funds for indigent peasant delegates, the latter without a doubt would have been at the congress, as they were at the Women's Equal Rights Union Congress in 1906."<sup>22</sup> Peasant women did not attend, but women workers did. Both feminists and socialists were paying more attention to female proletarians. Clara Zetkin, a strong supporter of women's suffrage, pushed through a motion supporting universal suffrage at the first International Socialist Women's Congress and the International Socialist Congress, both held in Stuttgart in 1907. Kollontai, an avid admirer of Zetkin, attended both meetings.<sup>23</sup>

The workers' group at the Women's Congress was relatively small, but their impact was large. Indeed, the feminist effort, whether it caused support or hostility among women workers, appears to have pushed them into greater activism. They were heavily recruited by the congress organizers, who sent notices to trade unions and working women's groups, and, most important, waived the five-ruble registration fee for female workers. Feminist outreach efforts were met with hostility from many socialists, especially men. The question of participation in the Women's Congress first arose in the largely female textile workers' union, where a stormy debate ensued. Opponents of congress attendance, generally Bolshevik men, gave the usual argument that such a gathering would enable the bourgeoisie with a golden opportunity to split the working class. Supporters stressed the agitational possibilities of the Women's Congress, and their belief that contact with the "bourgeois feminists" would sharpen the workers' class consciousness. Their arguments carried the day; the textile workers voted in favor of sending delegates to the assembly.<sup>24</sup>

At about the same time, in the spring of 1908, Kollontai, then a Menshevik, sought the consent of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party to do organizing work in preparation for the Women's Congress. Again, this proved a contentious issue. Opponents, both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, aimed at what they saw as her vulnerabilities. Kollontai had a privileged upbringing; those against her proposal accused her of using this issue as a wedge to form a partnership with the bourgeois liberal parties. Others took the opposite tack, ac-

cusing Kollontai and her supporters of being “feminists” and “of placing too much emphasis on matters of concern to women only.”<sup>25</sup>

Rank-and-file women workers were more positive about the Women's Congress. In the fall the textile workers set up an organizing committee, contacted other unions, and finally won the full endorsement of the St. Petersburg Central Bureau of the Trade Unions. The organizing committee reflected the concentration of women in the labor force and consisted of members of the salesclerks, typographers, seamstresses, bookkeepers, clerks, and confectioners unions, in addition to the textile unions. Later, delegates from workers' clubs also joined.<sup>26</sup> This group organized more than fifty meetings in private homes, union halls, evening schools for workers, and workers' clubs. Attendance ranged from 3 to 150, and altogether totaled between 500 and 650 workers. Because of heavy police surveillance, organizers had to be creative in characterizing the meetings as, for example, birthday or name day celebrations, to avoid raising suspicions.<sup>27</sup>

Although news of the meetings spread mostly by word of mouth, the Menshevik paper *Golos sotsial-demokrata* (Voice of social democracy) noted that only one other issue, sick benefits for workers, had aroused so much interest. Older, married women workers responded especially enthusiastically. Normally shy and quiet at meetings, they felt in their element at these gatherings, viewing them as a long-awaited opportunity to express their common woman's interests. Some of those who attended remembered earlier assemblies: “They were reminded of the women's meetings which took place in 1906 until the dissolution of the Duma, and left especially fond memories.” The meetings usually began with information about the congress, then switched to discussion of the specific demands and input the workers could make. These included, besides pay raises and shorter working hours, such women's demands as pregnancy leave and time off for breast-feeding. With all this, the Menshevik newspaper noted that, paradoxically, at some of the meetings it was necessary not to refute “bourgeois-feminist ideas,” but to prove that sex discrimination was significant.<sup>28</sup>

The attitudes of male workers varied. Some men, especially in the beginning, helped organize meetings, encouraged women workers to attend, and sometimes attended the women's meetings themselves. Unlike many of the women, the male workers did not seem to have trouble expressing unpopular opinions to members of the opposite sex.

At one session, when talk turned to the need for separate passports for women, one male worker objected: “That way they will go out, go to meetings and run

about. And try and find her then with her separate passport.” The congress was also a topic of discussion at working men’s meetings, where, according to *Golos sotsial-demokrata*, the strangest antifeminist alliances—between, for example, Bolsheviks, anarchists, and anti-Marxist Machaevtsy—developed.<sup>29</sup>

Kollontai was a whirlwind of activity during this period. She wrote a detailed critique of the feminists, set up fund-raising lectures, organized groups of women workers to attend feminist meetings, and attended all the women workers’ meetings, while successfully eluding capture by the police. In the dawning age of visual media, she often went unrecognized. Once she delivered a complimentary ticket to one of her fund-raising lectures, sponsored by a shelter, to a Kadet woman. The woman refused the ticket, complaining that the shelter allowed the “horrible Kollontai” to speak and instead gave Kollontai some money “for the shelter.”<sup>30</sup> In September legal action had been initiated against Kollontai, charging her with agitation in the textile workers’ union and with advocating an “armed uprising.” Although she had a few close calls, Kollontai eluded capture. Once the police appeared at a workers’ club and found a “dressmaking course.” Kollontai, the “teacher,” had in her hands the official permission for the course, and on a nearby table there were some half-finished blouses and skirts and a sewing machine. Another time, at a Metalworkers Union hall, the police suddenly appeared. Kollontai was saved only by the fast thinking of one of the workers. The woman quickly tied a scarf around Kollontai’s head and gave the fugitive her documents. That way Kollontai looked like a worker, and somebody else would be caught without a passport.<sup>31</sup>

Although some in the police actively pursued Kollontai, others trivialized her priorities. A number of times during this period, Kollontai met the police agent Roman Malinovskii, who was openly hostile to her work. Later, she wondered why he was not more attentive to her activity and concluded that he just did not attach any significance to the recruitment of women to the movement.<sup>32</sup> Kollontai’s efforts, together with those of the women workers’ groups, resulted in the selection of about forty-five delegates. The selection process emphasized union involvement and control. Each group of twenty union-affiliated workers chose one delegate; this delegate could be approved or rejected by her union. Twenty delegates were chosen in this way; ten more were selected by workers’ clubs, and a few came from Vilna and Moscow.<sup>33</sup> With the delegates chosen, Kollontai played an important role in preparing their talks. Ten topics, all about economics and politics, were chosen. These ranged from women and political activism to the woman worker’s budget, working conditions in specific industries, and the need for protective legislation. Almost all of the talks were prepared collectively by a

small group of workers under the guidance of a more “experienced person,” no doubt an *intelligentka*, if not Kollontai herself. Time was short, there were not enough available workers to gather all the necessary data, and many important questions were left untouched. Nevertheless, much was accomplished.<sup>34</sup>

Women workers' continued interest and activity in the congress finally stirred the Bolsheviks, who for months had scorned participation and hampered efforts to reach women workers. The Bolshevik-controlled St. Petersburg Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) named two delegates, the revolutionary activist Vera Slutskaiia, formerly a vigorous opponent of any attendance, and the worker Praskoviia F. Kudelli. Seeking to control the entire workers' delegation, they appointed a man, a Comrade Sergei, as leader of the workers' group. This enraged the Mensheviks, who viewed the last-minute Bolshevik efforts as undermining their efforts. They angrily accused their rivals of capitalizing on the already well-advanced preparatory work begun by a neutral group of trade unionists, to merely “stick a Social Democratic label on it, and in that way break up the proletarian organization into a few feeble pieces.”<sup>35</sup>

Many Bolshevik activists, both male and female, could not understand the enthusiasm of the women workers. They responded condescendingly even as they sought to control the workers. One Bolshevik man who attended the Women's Congress wrote four months later of the pre-congress expectations: “Every woman worker wanted to lay out her stored-up sorrows before this congress. . . . Though we said many times that this congress ‘would give us nothing,’ that ‘we are going only for agitation,’ all the same we could see the illusions on the delegates' faces.”<sup>36</sup> To control these “illusions,” the Bolsheviks still wanted to keep participation in the congress at a minimum. At first they urged the workers simply to “go to the congress, show your banner, and march home!” When this did not dampen the enthusiasm, the Bolsheviks then conceded that the delegates could take part, but only to articulate the Social Democratic position. If the workers' demands were refused, they proposed a public walkout. In a resolution presented for approval to the RSDLP, the Bolsheviks advocated showing the “principled gulf” between the workers and the congress on every issue discussed. Here again the Bolshevik hard-line did not prevail, the resolution did not pass, and the Mensheviks, refusing to discuss the matter further, left the meeting, destroying the quorum.<sup>37</sup>

A proposal presented by the workers' group organizing committee and passed by the Central Bureau of Trade Unions and the Inter-Club Committee more closely reflected majority sentiment. It advocated full participation in the Women's Congress, offering specific workers' group resolutions on all major issues and in-

sisting that rejected resolutions be recorded in the minutes as dissenting opinions. The workers would leave only if they faced a clear attempt to silence them: “only if the congress eliminates a talk by a workers’ group member or if free speech is constrained.”<sup>38</sup> Thus on the eve of the Women’s Congress, the workers’ group—consisting of a few Bolsheviks, some Socialist Revolutionaries, some Mensheviks, unaffiliated women, workers, and *intelligentki*—was not united. Kollontai differentiated three basic positions within the group. The Bolsheviks wanted to cut to a minimum cooperation with “bourgeois” women and to leave the congress as soon as possible. The “revisionists” argued against alienating the democratic elements of the congress and for creating a general democratic coalition. They claimed support from three-quarters of all the congress participants by their secret count. The third group, consisting mainly of Mensheviks, and including Kollontai, insisted on clarifying the contradictions between equal rights proponents and socialists on all basic points of the woman question. The socialists, they argued, should not make compromises just to attract left democrats, for this risked alienating the workers. For Kollontai, the socialists did not seek to organize the bourgeois democratic elements. Rather, by offering an alternative, they could possibly persuade these groups to leave the right Kadets and Octobrists and join the proletariat.<sup>39</sup>

The Bolsheviks painted the scene with broader strokes. They too saw three camps at the Women’s Congress. There was the “good” group, mostly proletarian and Bolshevik sympathizers. There were the *intelligentki*, or “opportunists,” who supported the Kadets. And on the extreme right there were the “liquidators,” who sought to “liquidate the Social Democratic position and replace it with a general democratic platform which would give them the possibility of gathering around themselves all opposition elements to the right of the Octobrists.”<sup>40</sup> Challenging imposed frameworks, the response of many women workers to the congress was much more favorable than either the Bolsheviks or Kollontai expected. It was the workers who pushed the Social Democrats to greater participation in the Women’s Congress. Women workers often took the initiative and resisted control by party activists during this period.<sup>41</sup>

### Preparation for the Women’s Congress

It took six years for the congress to become a reality. Planning for the gathering showed the feminist leaders’ persistence and their extraordinary access to tsarist authorities. But it also demonstrated the ambivalence of the authorities and the



limitations of the activists' access during a period punctuated by military defeat, revolution, and harsh repression. Anna Shabanova first requested permission for the congress in a personal audience with the reactionary minister of the interior, V. K. Plehve, in 1902. She recalled later that her contemporaries considered her "unusually courageous" for raising this subject with Plehve. For her part, Shabanova asked, "Was there anything bold in the modest and completely legal idea of calling a congress with the goal of awakening interest in the fight against women's deprivation and lack of rights?" She was "not embarrassed to tell Plehve about this, and he, of course, was not embarrassed to refuse permission."<sup>42</sup>

That Plehve did not reject Shabanova outright reflects government leaders' wariness at a time when women were demanding access to education and the professions and also were prominent within the ranks of revolutionary assassins. Perhaps seeking to encourage women's legal activism, Plehve agreed in principle to the calling of a women's congress, but he attached two main conditions: the congress could not be international and it had to be low profile, held in the summer, when the tsar and his court were away from the capital. Plehve, assassinated in July 1904, was only the first of the tsarist officials contacted by the feminists. Three more years of lobbying and negotiating were necessary before the women won final official permission for holding the Women's Congress.<sup>43</sup> Onerous restrictions remained, although they shifted with time. Initially, the meeting was confined to the areas of philanthropy and education; the official rules specified that "all questions touching on politics, religion, nationality, and unrelated to the goals of the congress cannot be discussed." Further, attendance was limited to members of the Mutual Philanthropic Society and the executive boards and councils of other educational and philanthropic organizations.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the restrictions, members of the organizing committee, chaired by Shabanova with Filosofova and the writer Olga Shapir as vice chairs, decided to proceed with plans for the Women's Congress. The official permission, they reasoned, provided a precedent, and the assembly could be the first attempt to unify women as a force in public life. Accordingly, in January 1905 the organizing committee issued a formal call to the congress, setting the opening session for June 1, 1905.<sup>45</sup> In the revolutionary year of 1905, with opposition sentiment mounting and demonstrations and strikes frequent, the government viewed any large urban gathering with great suspicion. St. Petersburg governor-general Trepov, a notorious hard-liner, clamped new restrictions on the congress. Copies of all talks had to be given to the police for prior screening, and the chairperson of each meeting was responsible for enforcing the police regulations. No doubt influenced by the

prevailing oppositional mood, and by the emergence of more militant women's rights organizations, the organizing committee refused to accept these conditions and decided to postpone the Women's Congress until a more favorable moment.<sup>46</sup>

That time did not come for more than two years. In late 1907, with hopes for Duma action dashed and women's rights groups suppressed and unraveling, the idea resurfaced. If any further precedent was needed, it may have been provided by the Polish and Lithuanian women's congresses held earlier in the year.<sup>47</sup> Members of the Women's Equal Rights Union, whose organization had been weakened by post-1905 government repression and the melting away of its initial large membership, this time took the lead. At a Women's Union conference in Moscow in October 1907 those present decided to organize an "All-Russian Congress on the Woman Question," to be held in Moscow from mid-December through mid-January. The Union itself was not a legal organization (its charter had never been approved by the government). An unapproved congress could not be held in this period of government backlash. The decline of the Union was evident in the number of participants in the 1907 meeting. Twenty people attended, down considerably from the seventy delegates at the Union's first Organizational Congress in May 1905, and the conference participants decided to find a legal women's group to request official permission for the congress.<sup>48</sup>

Within a month the Women's Union members abandoned their plans for their own congress and began working with the Suffrage Section of the Mutual Philanthropic Society. The latter provided the legal cover as well as greater financial resources; the Union provided the basic framework for the congress. The tentative program drawn up by the Union members closely resembled the one finally adopted for the 1908 Women's Congress. It included sections on "the philosophy of the woman question, the situation of women in Russia, the political and civil condition of women, the struggle for political and civil rights in Russia and other countries, the situation of educational institutions, and questions of ethics." The latter referred to such topics as the family, marriage, sexual morality, and prostitution. Seeking to be as inclusive as possible, the Union members sought to reach out not only to members of women's organizations and specialists on the woman question, but to peasant and working women as well.<sup>49</sup> The program for this congress included much more than was envisioned in 1902 and reflected the emergence of a political women's movement in Russia since then.

The Suffrage Section members added Filosofova's goal of establishing a National Council of Russian Women to the proposed conference program before approving it in November 1907. The organization, and especially Shabanova, put

its full weight behind the drive necessary to win official permission for this much expanded version of the original conference proposal.<sup>50</sup> Such permission came surprisingly speedily. Stolypin, having crushed the opposition, may have viewed the gathering as largely harmless. Perhaps some bureaucrats were sympathetic to the women. Two months after the Mutual Philanthropic Society vote, Stolypin's Ministry of the Interior gave official permission for the Women's Congress to be held in June 1908. Initially, in approving the congress, Stolypin's ministry showed its suspicion of the gathering. Two issues, decreed the bureaucrats, could not be discussed: these were the National Women's Council and the struggle for women's political rights. Still, the ministry proved remarkably pliable. Even with regard to the banned topics, the women won concessions or sidestepped the prohibitions. The tireless Filosofova successfully petitioned for the reinstatement of the council discussion. And the congress organizers changed the name of the section on the struggle for political rights to "The Political and Civil Situation of Women."<sup>51</sup>

With official permission granted, efforts to launch the Women's Congress proceeded in earnest. The organizing committee represented a cross section of the leadership of the remaining feminist activists and organizations, indicating the high priority placed by them on the congress as a means of revitalizing the Russian women's movement. Mutual Philanthropic Society representatives included its president, Shabanova, chair of the Organizing Committee; vice chairs Filosofova and Olga Shapir; and the temperance advocate Chebysheva-Dmitrieva. Union representatives included Ruttsen, Chekhova, Anna Kal'manovich, Miliukova, Ekaterina Shchepkina, and Maria Blandova. Maria Pokrovskaiia represented the Women's Progressive Party. Those with close ties to the Kadet Party included, besides Miliukova, Shapir, Ruttsen, and Chekhova. The Kadet connection became especially significant at the end of the congress.<sup>52</sup>

As part of the effort to reach out to greater numbers of people, congress organizers sought permission to open admission to some men. This differed from the 1905 proposal for a woman-only gathering and from the official permission for the Women's Congress, granted in January 1908. Arguing that the ban on men was "not in accord with the times," the committee petitioned the government for men to be admitted selectively, as lecturers and by special invitation. The petition was approved.<sup>53</sup> The planning committee's deliberations offer further evidence of the attempts to reach a wider audience. Those arguing for attention to more "concrete" questions, such as the struggle against alcoholism, and less attention to "agitational" questions, did not prevail. Even Kollontai had to admit that deficiencies in the first draft of the program, particularly relating to the eco-

conomic situation of women workers, were rectified in later drafts. An entire section of the Women's Congress, focusing largely on the economic position of women, was added.<sup>54</sup>

The organizers' hopes for an enthusiastic response to the June congress were at first dashed. Despite feverish preparations and the mass of publicity sent out from the beginning of the year, the initial response proved disheartening. By April members of the organizing committee, assessing the situation, had decided to postpone the congress until December. In announcing the committee's decision, Shabanova cited lack of sufficient response from potential speakers and participants. Indicating the constituency expected at the congress, Shabanova explained that by June many women would be at their *dachas* (summer homes) or resorts, that teachers were administering examinations at that time, and that there would be an International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress soon after. All these excuses, commented Pokrovskaia, simply showed that "the masses of women have remained indifferent to the Women's congress, and this indifference is the main reason for the delay in calling the congress."<sup>55</sup>

Response remained slow almost to the eve of the congress. In November the number of persons indicating interest numbered no more than two hundred, and the organizers made arrangements to have all but the first session in moderately sized meeting halls. But as the congress grew closer, the number of registrants swelled to more than a thousand, and the organizers had to stop further enrollment except for foreigners. A reporter from the Kadet paper *Rech'*, interviewing Shabanova, wrote that during their meeting the phone rang constantly, with callers beseeching the Women's Society leader for tickets to the congress. The feminist leader finally remarked: "But where can I put them? We did not expect such a crowd." In the end there was a frantic last-minute scramble for larger spaces to accommodate the larger numbers. The Agriculture Museum provided the venue for one section. And in an indication of the connections of its organizers and the support for the congress within "society," the St. Petersburg City Council rearranged a scheduled meeting so that the congress's second joint session could be held in the City Hall at the time planned.<sup>56</sup>

### The Women's Congress and Its Program

A splintered workers' group, one peasant, some fur-laden ladies, many *intelligentki*. Such was the composition of the first All-Russian Women's Congress. At the opening session the organizers stressed the links between their gathering and the

populist movement. The venerable populist Vera Belokonskaia chaired the first meeting. In the eyes of one observer, the Menshevik Osip A. Ermanskii, Belokonskaia, of all those on the podium, was most representative of the majority of women at the congress. "Her shy figure and stern, serious mien," he commented, "contrasted sharply with the sparkling society ladies behind the head table."<sup>57</sup> Yet it was one of those "society ladies" who most clearly articulated the links between past and present, between the emancipation of the serfs and the emancipation of women. Anna Filosofova defied the restrictions against discussing political rights, proclaiming: "In my youth I had the pleasure of witnessing the emancipation of the serfs, and now, in the twilight of my life, I am witness to the liberation of women." Tracing the history of women's struggle for their rights in Russia, she particularly cited the role of Nadezhda Stasova and Maria Trubnikova as "pioneers." At the end of her speech, those present, in recognition of the courageous lone survivor of the triumvirate of feminist pioneers, gave her a standing ovation.<sup>58</sup>

The festive air of the first session soon dissipated as the work of the congress began in earnest. As finally approved, the program provided for four topic areas, or sections, each meeting five to seven times during the weeklong conference. The sections were: "The Activity of Russian Women in Various Fields: Enlightenment and Educational Activities," "The Economic Situation of Women and Questions of Ethics in the Family and in Society," "The Political and Civil Situation of Women in Russia and Other Countries," and "Women's Education in Russia." In addition, three plenary sessions for the congress participants were planned. At the last of these, resolutions passed by the individual sections would be presented for ratification by the full membership of the congress. Seeking to avoid last-minute disruptions, the organizers ruled that no debate on the resolutions would be allowed. This rule, which ultimately caused the congress to founder, contrasted with the organization of the rest of the gathering. In all other congress sessions, the format consisted of the presentation of papers, discussion, and the proffering of resolutions. All sessions were open only to those formally registered with the congress.<sup>59</sup>

Despite Filosofova's defiant and hopeful words about the liberation of women, participants were reminded at every session that the Women's Congress was taking place in an authoritarian state. Police officers were very visible, even at the closed meetings of the sections. At the more populous joint sessions, those entering the meeting halls passed by a long line of police, an officer at the head. As the Moscow feminist Zinaida Mirovich observed, this level of police attention seemed more appropriate for a company of criminals than for a gathering of women discussing their interests and needs.<sup>60</sup>

In the regular meetings, as many as three policemen monitored all speakers and stopped those who had gone beyond permissible limits. The limits were arbitrary. The only instructions the police gave the organizing committee were to “behave modestly” (*vesti seb'ia skromno*) and to avoid the use of the word “struggle.” In practice, this meant that little criticism, however indirect, was allowed of contemporary conditions. Nevertheless, speaker after speaker tested the boundaries of what was permissible. One speaker was stopped for a reference to the Octobrists’ opposition to women’s rights because “parties sitting in the State Duma cannot be criticized.” Another was stopped when she referred to a country priest’s hostility to a public elementary school. In a discussion of marriage, the writer and lone American delegate Ekaterina Bakunina stated that she had deliberately entered into a free union because she “did not wish to violate her conscience by submitting to the rites of the Russian Orthodox Church.” The police official present stopped her, cautioning her not to touch on the subject of the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>61</sup>

Discussions of agrarian policy elicited particular police attention. The most serious interruption of the congress came at a meeting of the second section, during a reading by Ekaterina Kuskova (1869–1958) of a resolution on the agrarian question, formulated by a committee from that section. The police intervention actually unified a group with widely varying political positions. Kuskova was interrupted because the resolution, advocating a “radical solution of the agrarian question,” was critical of Stolypin’s policy. Unable to finish her reading, Kuskova recommended rejection of the resolution, since there could not be a vote on half a resolution. Before the participants could decide on this, Yuliia Ereemeeva, a Stolypin supporter, sought to read her resolution. She began with a statement on the importance of giving land allotments to peasant women, but she too was stopped. Agrarian policy, said the policeman, was not part of the congress program. When Ereemeeva continued reading, the official gave a third warning and ended the session.<sup>62</sup>

Despite these incidents, Kuskova argued later that given the times and Stolypin’s repressive policies, the atmosphere at the congress was relatively free. Although no criticism of present conditions was allowed, she noted that speakers could say anything they wanted about matters distant in either time or space. And generally everyone complied. Even the most radical women, observed Kuskova, preferred tackling utopian questions rather than more immediate questions. If suddenly the police had allowed the discussion of matters close to home, she was sure that few would have been prepared.<sup>63</sup> More disturbing than the police cen-

sorship, which was a fact of life for any "legal" gathering in Russia at the time, was the censorship practiced by members of the organizing committee. Olga Shapir was particularly blatant in this regard.<sup>64</sup> The Menshevik Ermanskii accused her of using the threat of censorship to stop the expression of opinions too radical for her "philanthropic conception of the women's movement."<sup>65</sup> She and other members of the organizing committee exercised careful control over the congress, reshuffled the order of speakers, eliminated some talks, and sometimes cut off debate. When protests arose against these high-handed tactics, Shapir replied: "This is not a political meeting, but a congress." When speakers expressed opinions that were especially radical or hypocritical, Shapir made her displeasure obvious. During a talk by the playwright and critic Anastasia Chebotarevskiaia criticizing bourgeois marriage, its economic basis and its ethics, Shapir, on the podium, made faces and gestures throughout.<sup>66</sup> Chebotarevskiaia, the opponent of bourgeois marriage, had recently wed the writer Fyodor Sologub.

It would be impossible to cover completely the eclectic range of talks and topics covered at the Women's Congress. Altogether they numbered 148, of which 26, or 18 percent, were given by men. Speakers advocated equal opportunity for women in fields either restricted or closed to them, such as sailing, agronomy, law, and the Russian Orthodox priesthood. Topics included coeducation, alcoholism, women's culture, women workers, prostitution, motherhood, free love, feminism in other countries, and women's consciousness and the political structure.<sup>67</sup>

P. E. Vasil'kovskii's lecture on Esperanto, invented by the Polish-Jewish eye doctor Ludwig Zamenhof, exemplified the range of topics. Vasil'kovskii was just one of a number of speakers who saw the Congress as a forum to spread their particular and often idiosyncratic message. He concluded with a heartfelt plea to "Russian mothers, wives, and sisters" to "destroy those artificial walls, that prevent people from understanding each other, from becoming brothers[sic] . . . which is the aim of all Christ's teachings."<sup>68</sup> A few fit the stereotype of the lady philanthropist so often used by socialist critics of the women's movement. Z. N. Bumakova, for example, described the work of the St. Petersburg Ladies' Philanthropic Prison Committee (*Sankt-Peterburgskii damskii blagotvoritel'nyi tiuremnyi komitet*) as providing a "bright, sunny ray of light" for the benighted female denizens of the prisons. When members of the committee first came to the prisons, recounted Bumakova, they were shocked by the prisoners' "low level of . . . intellectual and moral development. With rare exceptions, almost all the women were illiterate, with the most confused understanding of religion; they were completely flippant about the crudest of their crimes, and, as soon as they had served

their time, they returned to their wanton ways.” The society women set up a school for the prisoners, a library, a nursery, and a number of halfway houses and shelters for first-time offenders. The motto of the committee, which members wore imprinted on badges, was “Love Corrects All” (*chelovekoliubiem ispravliat*).<sup>69</sup>

Although matronizing, the work of such women as Bumakova and her committee did help ameliorate conditions for women in the prisons. The so-called charity ladies softened the blunt edges of a society their fathers, husbands, and brothers administered. In the case of these upper-class women, the traditional, socialized female qualities of compassion and self-sacrifice were directed toward “saving” a few of the more obvious victims of such a society. For others, traditional female socialization could lead to revolutionary activity, to the conviction that the primary goal was to help the wretched of the earth unite.<sup>70</sup> For most of the women at the congress, the answer lay somewhere in between.

The philanthropic approach did not go unchallenged, however. In the first meeting of the second section, devoted to peasant women, a talk entitled “Russian Women in Domestic Industry” (“Russkaia zhenshchina v kustarnoi promyshlennosti”), by E. N. Polovtseva, aroused much angry comment. Two speakers, Ekaterina Shchepkina and Elizaveta Shevyreva, graphically documented the double oppression of the *krest'ianki*, both as peasants and women, and their unending work in the fields and in the home.<sup>71</sup> Polovtseva disagreed, arguing that peasant women had too little to do. This she attributed to the drunkenness of their men. But it was a vicious circle. Such widespread drunkenness was directly connected to the “idleness of the female population in many localities.”<sup>72</sup> Inactivity led women to open taverns, to which male peasants flocked. The solution to the problem was to keep the peasant women busy at home by teaching them embroidery and knitting, thus also developing home industry. “Despite her utter ignorance and inveterate laziness,” claimed Polovtseva, “she [the peasant woman] all the same readily forsakes her idleness as soon as she is given work and provided with decent conditions.” Nevertheless, peasant men remained obstacles to change. One former tavern keeper, who had stopped trading in vodka and switched to trading in lace, told Polovtseva: “Before I had a tavern, now I do lace, and now the peasant men have begun reproaching me.”<sup>73</sup>

Polovtseva presented a resolution to the meeting, reiterating the connection between the encouragement of cottage industry and the fight to end alcoholism. Controversial, it aroused comment on all sides, but particularly from the socialist members of the workers' group. They criticized the resolution and the talk for seeking to extend an area of industry that particularly exploited women and chil-



dren and that had “outlived its time.” Zoia Shadurskaia expressed amazement that Polovtseva could find peasant women idle. What was needed, she argued, was to ease the burden of peasant women and particularly to protect mothers. In the end Polovtseva’s resolution was soundly defeated.<sup>74</sup>

Despite the oft-expressed desire that the congress reflect the unity of the women’s movement in Russia, disagreement and conflict emerged, especially in the meetings of the second and third sections and the most heavily attended plenary sessions. The conflict took many forms. One, for example, was a debate over lifestyle, particularly in relation to marriage and children. A range of positions, from radical to conservative, was articulated, both in the talks and discussion, which took place toward the end of the congress, on December 14. Three talks excited particular interest: Dr. Maria Volkova on “The Maternal Instinct and Sexual Abstinence”; Maria Vakhtina on “The Marriage Question in the Present and Future”; and Maria Blandova on the “Contemporary Situation of Russian Women.” Starting from very different premises, the three women came to similar conclusions about the necessity for women’s equal rights. Volkova maintained the position that the only purpose of sexual relations was procreation. Children should be taught about procreation and impressed with its serious significance, but it was up to each woman to preserve the focus on procreation, to check their prospective husband’s background, to maintain strict sexual discipline, to fight against immorality and unsavory attitudes toward sex, and to keep herself healthy during her childbearing years. From this conservative position Volkova came to the feminist conclusion that on this basis equal rights should be extended to women.<sup>75</sup>

Rather than seeking to strengthen marriage, Vakhtina sought to eliminate it altogether and replace it with “free love, or more accurately, free marriage.” Marriage, she argued, no longer needed to be based on economics; people could now unite spiritually in a deeper kind of union, one that would replace forced church marriage and eliminate the problems of illegitimate children and prostitution. Vakhtina ventured to assure her listeners that such unions had nothing in common with “the crude animal instincts, the possible appearance of which so frightens the opponents of free marriage.” To Vakhtina, modern marriage without the possibility of divorce, was “chains, and prison”; the new kind of relationship she advocated would end all that.<sup>76</sup> For this feminist the woman question meant more than equal rights in the legal and political process; the most intimate of human relations, in the family and in marriage, had to change.

Blandova took a different tack, rejecting the emphasis of both Vakhtina and Volkova on individual change as a means of bringing about general social change.

Recognizing the complex intersection of gender and class, she acknowledged class differences among women but argued that all Russian women suffered equally from their lack of civil and political rights. Women of all classes, she noted, were oppressed by customs and laws that forced them into marriage and made it difficult if not impossible to get a divorce. Men used the law to oppress women: "Existing laws give men unlimited power, and women—submission." The only way to change this situation was to fight for women's rights: "the sex question will be resolved in the proper sense only when women win their rights."<sup>77</sup> Thus Blandova stood the socialist argument on its head. The socialists argued that women could not be liberated without the resolution of class issues, thus denying the importance of female agency before the revolution. Feminists like Blandova argued that without the end of sex oppression, women in all classes would not be free. Blandova acknowledged class differences, but affirmed the primacy of sex oppression and the importance of the ongoing battle for equal rights.

Of the three talks, Volkova's aroused the most comment. Anna Kal'manovich commented sarcastically that "the whole world revolves around the pangs of hunger and the instincts of sexual love." Vera Kliachkina, more seriously, argued that resolution of the sex question was not possible before women had achieved equal rights. For a woman to refuse her husband's sexual advances could entail the destruction of her family. As for Vakhtina's ideas, there was some support for the idea of free unions. But Anna Miliukova, still smarting from the pain of her husband's most passionate affair and the near wreckage of their marriage, warned against too easy acceptance of such an idea. She cautioned that while sounding fine theoretically, too often such unions ended with an abandoned mother and children and no legal guarantees for protection. It was an eerie replay of Miliukova's private struggles with her husband during his affair with Marie Petite. Blandova's presentation elicited comparatively little response, but Ariadna Tyrkova felt it necessary to make a general comment on the entire issue, expressing the anxieties of some equal rights advocates. "Men," she argued, "as the necessary half of a happy whole, must be given due attention." Voicing a concern she would echo many times, she admonished those present: "It would be a shame if the congress dispersed under the banner of man-hating."<sup>78</sup>

Differences also arose over tactics in the battle for suffrage, this time between two leading Women's Union members. Although the focus of the debate was England, the implications for the Russian movement were clear. Mirovich, who often summered in England, expressed her admiration for the tactics of the English suffragists, arguing that the militant women had no choice, as "all peaceful, con-

stitutional means had been exhausted; the only recourse was revolutionary means, without which, unfortunately, the destruction of the centuries-old bonds of slavery is rarely accomplished." Their actions would prevail: "We don't doubt that their energy and courage will soon gain them a brilliant victory."<sup>79</sup> Ruttsen differed sharply, criticizing the militants' "extremely aggressive character in relation to the government." Decrying such tactics as "wrong," she explained them partly as a result of the after-effects of many suffragists' recent jail terms.<sup>80</sup>

Despite Mirovich's militant rhetoric and the obvious analogy to the Russian situation, there is no evidence that she or any other Russian feminists seriously considered adapting the tactics of the militant English suffragists to Russian conditions. A number of factors militated against the English strategy. The tsarist regime was much more repressive. The Third Duma's conservatism guaranteed a harsher response to militant tactics. Feminists still harbored some hopes of getting that body to consider some action on women's rights. Finally, the tradition of radical Russian women's participation in violent actions meant that those inclined toward militant tactics would be more likely to join one of the existing revolutionary groups.<sup>81</sup>

The radical feminist position was articulated most clearly by Kal'manovich in her talk, "The Women's Movement and the Relationship of the Parties to It." Here Kal'manovich traced the history of women's activism back to the Bible, ironically claiming that it all started "from the moment Adam, having eaten the apple picked by Eve, so chivalrously shifted all the responsibility to her alone." Touching on theories of mother-right, the development of marriage as an institution, the persecution of witches, and the emergence of the suffrage movement, she asserted that women had always fought for their rights. But the heart of her presentation, and its most controversial aspect, was her trenchant criticism of all existing political parties, particularly the Social Democrats, for either apathy or opportunism in relation to the woman question. To Kal'manovich, women, like the proletariat, were an oppressed class, and like any other oppressed group, they had to fight for their own liberation. Men would not free women. "Men of all parts of the population, of all classes," she argued, "are too interested in the enslavement of the woman, and most importantly, they have humiliated her too much, to decide immediately to give her equality with them." Thus each woman "must win her rightful place and compel respect."<sup>82</sup>

Demurrals came from different sides of the political spectrum. Workers' group representatives dissented vigorously. The strongest objections came from two women with very different stances but with close political ties to men, the indepen-

dent Marxist Kuskova and the Kadet Tyrkova. Tyrkova spoke first, reiterating her warning against “man-hating,” and in the process defending the Social Democrats. Kal’manovich’s position, argued Tyrkova, “is singularly harmful for the women’s movement . . . [and] has spoiled that accord toward which we were moving.” Supporters of women’s rights, continued Tyrkova, “have friends and enemies in all the parties.” Conceding to Kal’manovich the strength of the opposition, she asserted that “the most dangerous enemies are the secret ones, who don’t have the courage to state their opinions openly, who hide it behind jokes; and the most useful are those who openly speak of their hostility.” Although they “acknowledge that among their comrades there are enemies of ours, all the Social Democratic parties have women’s rights planks in their platforms.”<sup>83</sup>

Most emphatically, Tyrkova insisted, “the division of humanity into two classes—men and women—is beneath criticism. Russian women have already moved beyond this point of view.” Such a perspective is harmful and self-defeating: “No one will join that class of women who seek struggles with men. If we look for our enemies in the democratic organizations, if we look where there are none, we will doom the woman question.”<sup>84</sup> Kuskova seconded Tyrkova, stressing the importance of economics, arguing that women are as much the problem: “Women should not consider men their enemies. The most dangerous enemy of women is this very women’s meeting. How many days have we gathered here, talking and talking, and—without any male interference—cannot agree on anything.” Dismissing Kal’manovich’s efforts, Kuskova argued that “we have not established a theoretical foundation for the movement, and worst of all, we have made no practical decisions enabling us to advance the cause of women.” Women must gain economic independence, she said, for “so long as women stay materially dependent on husbands, brothers and fathers or lovers . . . the women’s movement will not increase its cadres and . . . it will not grow into an influential force.”<sup>85</sup>

In this debate, however, Kal’manovich had the last word. Again criticizing the established parties, she targeted the Kadets and Kadet women, concluding with a fiery response to charges of man-hating. The Kadet women, she asserted, wanted to use the Women’s Congress “to promote the interests of their party, and we can see the results—we had an entire Kadet day.” But the Kadets should not be trusted, for “at the slightest pretext, they will throw both the proletarian and the woman questions over the side.” Women should “have no truck with the parties.” Passionately concluding her remarks, Kal’manovich proclaimed: “There are patriots for the fatherland, I am a patriot for women.” Rejecting accusations of man-hating, she claimed that this was “doubly absurd, since I am a mother and

could not possibly preach to my children hatred for their father and brothers.”<sup>86</sup> Clearly, such disagreements would not be settled at this congress. “It is not possible for all the streams of the women’s movement to flow into one riverbed,” observed Kuskova.<sup>87</sup>

One stream, or at least its chief spokeswoman, emphatically did not want to share the same riverbed. Kollontai repeated her standard accusation against the feminists: “The woman question—say the feminists—is a question of ‘rights and justice.’ ‘The woman question’—answer the proletarian women—is a question of a piece of bread.”<sup>88</sup> Wherever and whenever possible Kollontai emphasized the differences between the “proletarian” social democrats and the “bourgeois” feminists, although her own class background and that of many other socialist leaders closely resembled that of the feminists.<sup>89</sup>

Workers’ group members insisted that the basis of the exploitation of women was economic and that only a movement made up of female and male workers and their allies, could accomplish fundamental change. The unification of women of different classes in one movement would only serve to distract women workers from their chief goal of transforming society. This position was presented in talks, resolutions, and discussions, both in the second and third sessions as well as in the joint sessions. The group easily won support on the economic issues it raised. After the Bolshevik Anna Gurevich’s talk on “The Protection of Childhood,” about the working conditions of women and children in factories, E. I. Gardner, a founder of the Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society and a close friend of Anna Filosofova, won applause when she exclaimed: “We cannot go on this way . . . the right of these future [Russian] citizens to a healthy and radiant life must be protected by laws, by the creation of ‘children’s rights.’”<sup>90</sup> A resolution proposed by Anna Gurevich—advocating the prohibition of child labor, compulsory education from ages six to sixteen, the prohibition of “difficult and dangerous” work for adolescent girls, mandatory daily rest periods, and permanent sanitation and factory inspection in all industries employing child labor—was incorporated in the final resolutions adopted by the Women’s Congress. Another workers’ group resolution, recognizing the basic civil rights of workers—including the right to organize, form unions, and agitate—was adopted in the second section.<sup>91</sup>

On procedural matters the workers’ group won concessions from the congress planners, with minimal resistance. At the third section’s first session, after Mirovich was chosen as the presiding officer, Kollontai proposed that a vice chairwoman be chosen from among the workers’ group. Shabanova, presiding over the

entire section, initially demurred, then agreed to the selection of Anna Gurevich as the workers' group representative for that meeting, and finally announced that Gurevich could serve as vice chair for all the meetings of that section. In the second section workers' group representative Maria Ianchevskaia served as vice chair from the beginning.<sup>92</sup>

The main points of conflict between the workers' group and the feminists centered on three issues: the primacy of economic factors, separatism, and suffrage. At least one of these issues aroused debate at every session at which members of the workers' group or their allies were present, but these conflicts did not prevent agreement about immediate policy goals. For example, at the third session of the second section, on the evening of December 12, differences between the feminist and socialist positions on prostitution came to the fore. Both Pokrovskaia, the most well-known of the feminist crusaders against legalized prostitution, and Maria E. Blandova, formerly on the Central Bureau of the Women's Union, condemned the government regulation of prostitution and urged that it be abolished.<sup>93</sup>

A workers' group ally, Dr. Omel'chenko, while agreeing with the need to abolish regulation, stressed the economic basis of prostitution. His resolution, endorsed by the workers' group, made the standard socialist points that the "chief cause of prostitution in contemporary society is the economic position of the working-class woman," that this "army of prostitutes" attracts customers from all social classes, thanks to "the decay of the bourgeois family and the collapse of all moral foundations," and that the growth of prostitution has accentuated the "inability of working-class men to start families." Although Pokrovskaia and Blandova differed strongly with a strictly economic analysis of the root causes of prostitution, the "immediate palliative measures" proposed by Omel'chenko, such as a "rise in the economic and cultural level of the broad masses," and an end to the regulation of prostitution were ones with which the feminists could agree.<sup>94</sup>

But Omel'chenko's insistence on the economic causes of prostitution represented exactly the viewpoint against which Pokrovskaia directed part of her talk on "How Women Must Fight Prostitution." To Pokrovskaia, prostitution was more than an economic phenomenon and could not be eradicated solely by attention to these factors: "Prostitution differs from purely economic questions in that it is closely tied to questions of sex." Instead of focusing on the reasons why women became prostitutes, as did proponents of the economic argument, she urged more attention to men's motives for patronizing prostitutes. In her view it was not economic, "but moral and physiological-pathological causes [that] play the chief role."<sup>95</sup>

For Pokrovskaiia, the source of the problem lay in the rule of one sex over the other, in the double moral standard. Men had the right to sexual satisfaction whenever they wished; women were restricted to sex within marriage. Men's over-developed sex drive "was one of the most important causes of prostitution." And women held the key to its cure. Because they had learned to curb their sexual instincts, they could teach men to do the same. But women could not take decisive action until they had won political rights. In the same way that economic rights were key to the socialist view of class transformation, for Pokrovskaiia and other feminists, political rights were the key to women's transformation. Thus women's suffrage was the key to the elimination of prostitution and the solution of the sex question.<sup>96</sup>

Pokrovskaiia's resolution combined both political and economic demands, calling for equal suffrage rights for women, the extensive organization of women's education, ending the double sexual standard; "the curbing of the excessively developed male sex instinct"; punishment of pimps; the abolition of the registration of prostitutes; and legislation to improve the economic situation of peasant and working women and domestic servants. The last point accorded with socialist arguments, although Pokrovskaiia, by emphasizing the position of domestic servants, who were especially sexually vulnerable, went further than the socialists and even many feminists.<sup>97</sup> The discussion after the talks mainly reiterated the two positions. Anna Ivanova of the workers' group claimed that "prostitution is the result of the contemporary capitalist system."<sup>98</sup> Pokrovskaiia chastised Omel'chenko for his failure to pay more attention to the "moral questions," to which another workers' group member, Elizaveta Andreeva, retorted: "Moral laws reflect that system which is in power during a given time period." Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein supported Pokrovskaiia, condemning the double standard but turning the debate away from morality to the empirical. Challenging Omel'chenko's contrast between the values of prostitution and the family, Shishkina-Iavein noted that fathers and sons often visited red-light districts together. She condemned especially those syphilitic men who knowingly infected many prostitutes, arguing that the medical inspection system should include examining all male patrons for venereal disease. If men were the targets of such personal intrusion, prostitution would end quickly.<sup>99</sup>

Omel'chenko's and Pokrovskaiia's resolutions advocated the abolition of legalized prostitution. Omel'chenko emphasized the economic and class roots of the sex trade, claiming that bourgeois decadence fueled the rise of prostitution and turned male workers away from marriage and family. Pokrovskaiia focused on

equal rights, enhanced economic opportunities for women, and punishment of male consumers and pimps as the key to ending prostitution. Most controversially, Pokrovskaiia proposed “restraining the overdeveloped male sexual instinct.” Her resolution prevailed, and the workers’ group resolution was defeated.<sup>100</sup> The inability to fashion a result that reflected the workers’ group and the feminists’ many areas of agreement prompted criticism from those on the left not affiliated with the socialist parties. The part of Pokrovskaiia’s resolution critiquing male sexuality became the focus of criticism. The independent Marxist Ekaterina Kuskova commented that the congress “completely muffed the question of prostitution; no one could say anything sensible about this vast and terrible question. It is not even worth talking about the resolution passed by the second section, recommending ‘abstinence.’”<sup>101</sup>

Differences about the possibility of cooperation emerged not only between the workers’ group and the feminists but within both groups as well. Some on both sides completely rejected any possibility of cooperation. The worker Nizhegorodova pungently remarked, “The driver and the pedestrian are not comrades. . . . The bourgeoisie ride in carriages, and we drag ourselves along on foot.”<sup>102</sup> By the fourth day, Shapir showed her bitterness and disappointment, arguing that class differences represented an insuperable barrier, thus conceding the socialists’ arguments: “As for the unity which they [other speakers] are urging, I will not call for it. I consider it impossible in a class society. I consider it useful that the workers’ party’s constant calls to disunity compel us, in all likelihood, to deny a vain hope.”<sup>103</sup>

Mirovich emphasized that “in unity, there is strength.” But she insisted that such unity could only be possible on a nonparty basis.<sup>104</sup> Anna Gurevich challenged her, arguing for a variety of strategies: “Women of different groups and classes . . . need different rights and must fight in different ways, and their organizations must be different.” Further, argued Gurevich, women workers could not separate themselves, but “must fight for all the needs of the working class.”<sup>105</sup> In response, some feminists cited socialists from other countries, notably Bebel, thus showing that they too were conversant with the socialist classics and emphasizing that socialists themselves had different approaches to feminism and women’s issues. Ruttsen quoted a passage from Bebel’s *Woman and Socialism*, in which the German socialist leader stressed that women of different classes often had more in common than women and men of the same class.<sup>106</sup>

Others were more conciliatory. Miliukova acknowledged class differences: “We do not seek to distract proletarian women from their necessary struggles alongside the men of their class.” Still, she argued, “there are problems common



to all women which must be given first priority.”<sup>107</sup> And the Menshevik Elena Kuvshinskaia of the workers’ group insisted that “women’s organizations should arise independently within the boundaries of each class group.” Nevertheless, she conceded that “in exceptional circumstances temporary agreements are possible.”<sup>108</sup> Stefania Shabad, a Lithuanian delegate, sought to achieve a synthesis and resolution of these issues by arguing that “women themselves must advocate their rights, and we should welcome the organization of women’s groups among the social democrats.”<sup>109</sup>

Kollontai rejected the conciliatory gestures of other workers’ group members. Kollontai, most similar to the feminist leaders in her education and class background, fiercely emphasized the differences between feminism and socialism. Her talk “The Woman-Worker in Contemporary Society” was given at the same December 15 plenary session at which Kal’manovich spoke. Kollontai had already fled; in her absence the worker Volkova read her speech. From the beginning it was combative, taking issue with the usual feminist explanation of the origins of the modern women’s movement. To Kollontai, the source of this movement was not a handful of conscious bourgeois women, but the effects of industrialization on the masses of women. For it was industrial capitalism that was revolutionizing the conditions of women’s lives by its hunger for female labor power. Only with involvement in work outside the home would women’s consciousness be raised and proletarian women would lead the way. “At the same time that the bourgeois woman still huddled in her domestic shell,” wrote Kollontai, “prospering at the expense of her husband and father—the proletarian woman already bore the heavy cross of wage labor.” Bourgeois women might demand the right to work, but proletarian women already filled the labor force. In Germany there were more than 5 million proletarian and only 180,000 “bourgeois” women in the paid labor force. Thus, for most women, capitalism was a “liberating” force.<sup>110</sup> This of course belied Kollontai’s own experience as a woman from a “bourgeois” family who early on sought her own liberation.

In this and other areas, claimed Kollontai, the needs of bourgeois and proletarian women would be different. Instead of freedom to work, factory laborers needed protection from work, both in the factory and at home. Instead of free love and motherhood without marriage, the woman worker needed the protection of motherhood, state-supported child care, and paid maternity leave. Anticipating policies she tried to implement after the revolution, Kollontai argued that “the marriage and family question for the majority of women will only lose its cutting edge when society takes from them all those petty domestic worries, which

are inescapable now in the nuclear family.”<sup>111</sup> Equal rights would not help the proletarian woman. She had no hope of obtaining a doctor's degree, of becoming an official or a cabinet minister. Even the right to vote, although important, would not solve the problems of the woman worker, which could not be solved as long as she had to sell her labor to the capitalist.<sup>112</sup>

Kollontai was not above distorting the feminists' positions to make her polemical points. Using the example of prostitution, she claimed that the feminists offered merely “a couple of shelters for repentant Magdalenes, several societies for the moral-spiritual uplift of women workers, at best a fight against regulation.” Such was their medicine for this rapidly spreading social disease. The conclusion for Kollontai was obvious; women workers had to maintain class solidarity to win their rights. “Only by staying within the ranks of her class, only by fighting for ideals and interests common to all workers,” she claimed, “can the woman worker defend her interests and rights as a woman.”<sup>113</sup>

The feminists countered that male social democrats might argue for class solidarity with women, but they did not hold up their part of the bargain, failing to act on written pledges of support for women's suffrage or refusing to support women's rights at all. Most of the criticism centered on socialists in other countries. The litany was long, including the duplicity of Belgian socialists, the hostility of the Hungarians, the resistance of sections of the German social democrats, and the expediency of the Austrians. The last International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907 proved a particular target. The First International Socialist Women's Conference, meeting just prior to the Women's Congress, prepared a resolution demanding that any future campaigns for universal suffrage should include women. The resolution passed but with a qualifying amendment stating that no definite date for a general suffrage campaign could be set. To the feminists, this represented decisive evidence that the social democrats paid only lip service to the cause of women's rights.<sup>114</sup>

Kal'manovich was most articulate in her attack on the social democrats. Giving a detailed country-by-country analysis of socialist support for women's rights, she argued: “This party pretends that it always sincerely wants equal rights for women, that it embodies all justice. I want to show that even here women's rights serves only as an adornment to their program.”<sup>115</sup> Criticized for the severity of her attacks on the social democrats, Kal'manovich replied: “If I paid more attention to the social democrats, that is because I expect more from them.”<sup>116</sup> The socialists vociferously defended their party brethren, and the debates heated up, but at the December 13th session Kollontai uncharacteristically backed down.

Certainly not above misstating feminist positions, she accused Mirovich of "making a slanderous attack on the Stuttgart Congress." Mirovich had charged that at the Stuttgart congress some male socialists had left the meeting in disapproval when the resolution on women's suffrage passed. After a private conference Kollontai retracted her remarks.<sup>117</sup>

The socialist women underscored their party's programmatic commitment to women's rights, and claimed, according to Kollontai, that "in those countries where unlimited political rights for women have been achieved, this has been done only with the help of the social democrats." She pointed particularly to Finland. But Annie Furuhjelm, president of the Finnish Women's Alliance Union, demurred, stating that Finnish women had won their rights because all parties supported them and that "it is wrong to say even that the social democrats were the first to raise the question in Finland (eight years ago) of women's equality. Twenty years ago this demand was raised by the bourgeoisie." Her statement was greeted with prolonged applause.<sup>118</sup>

If the feminists made Austria the socialists' Achilles' heel, the socialists did the same with England. At the time England was a key battleground in the fight for women's rights. The militant "suffragettes" of the Women's Social and Political Union, primarily led by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel, had revitalized the English movement and caused feminists everywhere to reexamine their tactics. But even these militant suffrage advocates had decided to demand limited suffrage first.<sup>119</sup> The socialists attacked this position as reflecting the class nature of the women's movement. Once propertied women got the vote, they argued, attempts to extend the franchise would be abandoned. Kollontai charged: "Limited suffrage, supported by bourgeois feminists, is used by the bourgeoisie as an antidote against the democratic demands of the working class."<sup>120</sup> And her party comrade Kuvshinskaia remarked that English social democrats "insist on universal suffrage and will not be satisfied with any laws providing less than that."<sup>121</sup> The feminists replied that the acceptance of limited suffrage was purely tactical; it was limited suffrage or nothing. Ruttsen cited the example of the United States: "In America there is universal suffrage, but women have not yet gotten it. It is easier to gain rights through limited suffrage."<sup>122</sup> Further, limited suffrage advocates pointed to the stand of Keir Hardie, head of the newly formed British Labour Party. Hardie was a strong supporter of women's rights, and in 1906 the Labour Party made equal suffrage for women part of its platform.<sup>123</sup> If an English socialist could accept limited suffrage as a tactic, then Russian socialists should be able to do the same.

Conflicts over suffrage precipitated the final clash of the Women's Congress. At the third session of the political section, on December 13, two resolutions representing the socialist and Kadet feminist views on suffrage were presented to the meetings. The Editorial Bureau, dominated by feminists with links to the Kadets, proposed a resolution advocating equal rights and limited suffrage. Mirovich introduced the proposal, which demanded "the reform of unjust laws relating to women, making both sexes equal with regards to land, inheritance, and family rights" and "immediately granting Russian women equal participation with men in local, state, and city governments, and also active and passive voting rights equal with men, for the State Duma."<sup>124</sup> The workers' group, in contrast, presented a resolution strongly supporting universal suffrage, arguing that "universal suffrage for women is one of the chief weapons in women's struggle for complete liberation."<sup>125</sup> The resolution thus reflected a change in socialist tactics. Economics could not be the dividing issue; congress participants were in general agreement and receptive to workers' group resolutions in this area. Initially, even the suffrage disagreements appeared resolvable. Both suffrage resolutions were sent to the Editorial Bureau, which was to work out the package of resolutions to be presented for ratification at the final joint session.

### The National Council of Russian Women

As the Women's Congress proceedings wound down, on December 16, the last day, attention focused on two issues: (1) Filosofova's plea for the creation of a National Council of Russian Women and (2) balloting on the final resolutions of the congress. Both issues provided further occasions for conflict between the workers' group and the congress organizers. Filosofova favored the establishment of the National Council as a unifying force for the Russian women's movement and as the vehicle for full-fledged Russian membership in the conservative International Council of Women.<sup>126</sup> The Women's Congress could establish the council officially, and its support might aid those still seeking government approval. In any case, pleaded Filosofova, a National Council would be a symbolic gesture of unity.<sup>127</sup>

But this Women's Congress and the venerable Filosofova were not to have unity. The specter of even symbolic unity angered representatives of the workers' group, who spoke out against any vote on a National Council. Maria Sabinina, Elena Kuvshinskaia, and Anna Drozdova stated their case: "Two definite factions can be clearly seen here and unification of the representatives of these two factions is out of the question." Shabanova proposed a compromise—the ratification of the

plan for the council *in principle*. Though Kuvshinskaia and Drozdova of the workers' group still objected to a vote, it was taken anyway, and the majority approved the Shabanova compromise. Despite their defeat, the workers' group stayed.<sup>128</sup>

The organizers appeared to be conciliatory, firmly blocking personal attacks. When Princess Tarkhanova sardonically criticized the workers' group, and especially Kollontai's absence ("Madame Kollontai," she said, "opportunistically taken ill"), Tyrkova, chairing the session, refused to let the princess continue. Her decision was greeted with boisterous applause.<sup>129</sup> After an interlude with more talks, the final resolutions, prepared by the Editorial Bureau, were presented for ratification. The so-called general-political resolution, particularly the section on suffrage, caused the most controversy, as was already prefigured by the earlier congress debates. Seeking to achieve consensus, the Editorial Bureau, headed by Shapir and composed entirely of women active in the planning of the Women's Congress, had added five at-large delegates. These included Anna Gurevich and Ekaterina Kuskova, who had sought throughout the congress to act as a liaison between the workers' group and the majority of delegates. It is not entirely clear what happened at the Editorial Bureau meetings. According to Tyrkova, the committee reached a consensus on all the resolutions. The general-political resolution at that point included a call for universal suffrage, with the stipulations that it be equal, direct, and secret. But then, members of the organizing committee, claiming that they feared police reaction, argued for the removal of the so-called three tails (equal, direct, and secret). This split the committee, making consensus impossible. The issue was resolved by majority vote, in favor of the weakened resolution. Kuskova and Anna Gurevich resigned in protest.<sup>130</sup>

In the end Editorial Bureau members abandoned the goal of unity in favor of maintaining control over the suffrage resolution, the key feminist issue. Shapir, in her speech presenting the final resolutions, announced that there would be no debate, that "there is nothing new in them. . . . A discussion would only return us to the old vicious circle of principled disagreements." In her explanation of the conflict in the Editorial Bureau, Shapir asserted: "The presence of *two* factions and the external limits within which the work of the congress proceeded, deprived the Editorial Bureau . . . of any possibility of arriving at a common formulation of the fundamental resolutions of the congress. That is why the Editorial Bureau . . . considered it necessary to propose a general political resolution expressing the sentiments of the majority of the congress."<sup>131</sup>

Shapir's announcement brought Kuskova to her feet. It was against the Women's Congress rules, argued the seasoned political veteran, to propose a resolution not introduced in the sections. Miliukova defended the action, claiming

that the failure to present the resolution was the result of the third section chairwoman's absentmindedness (*po prostoi zabyvchivosti*) in forgetting to read it.<sup>132</sup> To resolve the situation, Sabinina proposed that since the workers' group resolution advocating full universal suffrage, when presented, had been greeted with applause by members of the third section, it should be adopted by the full congress in lieu of a resolution reflecting only the opinion of the Editorial Bureau. When this proposal was defeated, Sabinina and most of the workers' group walked out. But some stayed. Right before the balloting on the general-political resolution, M. A. Fedorova asked for an opportunity to "explain" Sabinina's statement. The workers' group, she said, did not object to the publication of the general-political resolution, but only to voting on it. It was a last-ditch attempt at reconciliation, and it failed. The chairwoman, Tyrkova, ruled against blocking the vote, the remaining members of the workers' group left, and what Ermanskii called a "Kadet cavalry charge" spearheaded passage of the amended resolution.<sup>133</sup>

Thus the workers' group walkout was precipitated not by a disagreement about class, as some scholars have argued, but by a disagreement about the extension of women's suffrage. The group appeared less to seek to create a split as to seek some general consensus on the key issue of a women's congress of that time—suffrage. The group may have begun to believe that some show of unity might have been possible just as the congress organizers had despaired and dashed their dreams. The workers' group effort does not appear to have been coordinated. It was not the strong demonstration of solidarity that some wanted and that others later claimed it to be. The group members left alone or in pairs. Some seemed confused. It was a slow, ragged exit. Even the Bolshevik paper at the time noted that "many continued to sit, dispirited, disturbed, instead of standing and leaving. Gradually, they understood the situation and left."<sup>134</sup>

The remaining delegates were also divided in their response to the walkout. Shouts of "You wanted to wreck the congress, but you failed" mingled with calls to the group to reconsider: "You don't know what you're doing" and other such comments. Conservative observers dismissed the walkout. Boris Glinskii, in *Novoe vremia* (New time), wrote: "Little by little the representatives of the workers left, but this had no effect, and the congress continued to hear out the resolutions and vote for them."<sup>135</sup> Dissatisfaction reigned among those who stayed as well. Some of the delegates refused to vote for the resolutions in protest against the way the Editorial Bureau and the organizing committee had handled the situation. Vol'kenshtein wrote later that in the rush most people did not understand the basis of the disagreement. Still, the "democratic elements in the congress, in full

solidarity with the workers' group on the substance of the question, refrained from voting on the resolution." They did not, however, "consider it possible to join in such an extreme measure as leaving the congress."<sup>136</sup> Pokrovskaja also objected that "the resolutions that were approved cannot serve as a real expression of the mood of the Women's Congress."<sup>137</sup>

Still, these sentiments appeared to be in the minority. With the workers' group gone, the rest of the resolutions were approved amid loud applause. In addition to the suffrage demand, the general-political resolution included a call for the creation of an All-Russian Women's Council. The first section ("Women's Public Activity") resolutions reiterated the importance of women winning equal rights to participate fully in public life and for raising the living standards of peasant women through greater access to education, changing laws on inheritance, and access to land. The second section ("Economic Situation of Women") resolutions demanded limiting factory and other work to women eighteen years and older, an eight-hour workday, banning night and underground work; protective legislation for pregnant women and mothers, child labor laws, and permitting; training female factory inspectors; a unified government system of workers insurance; an end to the double sexual standard; the abolition of legalized prostitution and the closing of houses of prostitution; combating alcoholism by improving living standards; raising the general cultural level of the masses; and widespread anti-alcohol campaigns, with the full participation of women.<sup>138</sup>

The third section ("Political and Civil Situation of Women") advocated equal suffrage, complete revision of the law code on the basis of equality and justice without regard to nationality; the abolition of all discriminatory laws against Jews; equal access to education; removal of regulations barring women from practicing all kinds of law; equal access to medical education and to medical practice; equality in marriage, divorce, and inheritance; and expanding inheritance and other rights of children born out of wedlock.<sup>139</sup> The resolutions in the fourth section, on education, advocated early education for all Russian children, accomplished by private initiative until the creation of a government system allocating more money to realize universal education; teaching in elementary schools in children's native languages; universal free education for all school-age children, without national or religious restrictions; schools for adult women workers; permitting higher schools to train workers to be village teachers; equal access for women to all higher-education institutions and with the same rights and privileges as men; equalizing educational programs in men's and women's middle schools; abolishing religious and national barriers to study in higher-educational institu-

tions; freedom for private initiatives in higher education; freedom of assembly and organization in all higher-education institutions; organizing an All-Russian Congress of Student Representatives from higher-education institutions; establishing an Information Bureau for those studying abroad; opening access to technical education institutions without regard to nationality and religion; establishing an institute to train female factory inspectors; coeducation on all levels, organizing a society to realize coeducation, which is an "essential factor in normal sexual education"; and opening access for girls to existing boys' schools with no religious or national restrictions.<sup>140</sup>

In general, the Women's Congress demands, while more specifically focused on women, reflected progressive democratic and oppositional views similar to those in the programs of the main left and liberal parties. The waning hours of the assembly passed uneventfully and with a certain degree of self-congratulation, although at the very end Sofia Dekhtereva brought the gathering back into the larger world. Asking for the floor, she made an impassioned plea for an end to capital punishment. Thus the congress did not end with a statement of unity or dissent around feminist issues but with Dekhtereva's condemnation of capital punishment, again linking with the overall agenda of opposition to the government. While applause greeted Dekhtereva's remarks, both the police official attending and Shabanova, who was presiding, joined to stop her. Shabanova promptly gaveled the meeting closed. Thus ended the First All-Russian Women's Congress.<sup>141</sup>

The self-congratulation continued the next day during a banquet at the fashionable restaurant Kontan.<sup>142</sup> More than five hundred women and men attended. Glinskii approvingly described the scene as "evidence of the fact that the many women who were at this banquet had not forgotten that they were women and that elegance was as familiar to them as intelligence."<sup>143</sup> But all was not fashion and frivolity. In deference to temperance advocates, all toasts were made with Narzan mineral water. And unease about the privilege and exclusivity of the celebrants was voiced by Elena M. Sudilovskaia, who startled those present by loudly asking, "Why aren't there working women, peasant women, and maids at this table?"<sup>144</sup>

### After the Women's Congress

Comments on the congress ranged from ecstasy to ennui. The conference speaker E. I. Shevyreva thought it was the "first swallow," the harbinger of better times. Dekhtereva spoke of "awakening from a lethargic sleep."<sup>145</sup> Olga Shapir wrote



that the Women's Congress was a momentous event in the history of Russian culture because it was called to change the existing social-legal relationships between the sexes.<sup>146</sup> To Shabanova, the gathering showed that women were fully qualified to be in a representative assembly.<sup>147</sup> Mirovich was also upbeat, claiming that despite all the disagreements, the congress had illuminated the many different aspects of women's lives and the need "to change radically the laws and customs limiting the freedom of women" through their unification above nationality, class, and political party.<sup>148</sup> Vol'kenshtein, while critical of the composition of the congress and the tactics of the organizing committee, thought it useful for its informational character, for arousing interest in the woman question both in society and in the masses of women and as a forum for different women's groups. Still, she hoped that the next Women's Congress would be more practical in terms of the concrete actions necessary to achieve full equality for women.<sup>149</sup>

Pokrovskaiia was more critical, particularly concerning the way in which the final resolution had been pushed through by the organizing committee. She saw this as evidence of the domination of the Kadet faction. This group's high-handed tactics in presenting the last-minute resolutions, "which were a long way from reflecting the resolutions passed by the various sections," were in her view responsible for the workers' group walkout. To Pokrovskaiia, the congress planners were so afraid of the social democrats and possible trouble spots that they slighted questions important to the women's movement. Thus, although they gave the workers' group representatives time to speak, they tried to steer clear of issues that were controversial but important to working women.<sup>150</sup>

But the worst offense of the organizers, for this feminist crusader, was their "startling indifference" to the issue of prostitution. Pokrovskaiia cited approvingly a letter from a participant lamenting that the congress had not paid proper attention to this "shameful gangrene of our society."<sup>151</sup> After much difficulty Pokrovskaiia was able to get her talk on the white slave trade, concerning a bill pending in the Duma, scheduled for the joint session of December 12. Then, "thanks to the Kadet chairwoman . . . the talks on prostitution and the admission of women to the universities were not heard but a talk praising the Kadet party was heard."<sup>152</sup> Kuskova, although she often disagreed with Pokrovskaiia, agreed with her criticism of the congress's priorities, commenting sardonically that "Russian women take a lively interest in how English suffragists 'break glass' and most likely don't know at all what legislative projects the Russian ministries introduce for them."<sup>153</sup>

The debate about the failure to more forcefully address the issue of prostitution at the congress continued in the pages of *Soiuz zhenshchin*, which in its April 1909 issue printed a letter from a prostitute to Miliukova, received too late to be

read at the congress. The letter writer joined those who criticized feminist leaders as being far removed from the experiences of their sisters in desperate circumstances: "You gather to talk about all women, but you are silent about prostitutes because you don't know them and you don't know anything about their life." She proceeded to describe the daily life of a prostitute, listed a number of demands that would improve conditions, and ended with the assertion that although an end to poverty would certainly diminish the incidence of prostitution, it would only be eliminated when women obtained their rights and by their own actions demanded an end to the selling of women's bodies and closed the bordellos.<sup>154</sup>

Despite her criticism, Pokrovskaja still considered the Women's Congress as essentially positive, seeing great potential in the silent majority at the meeting. She labeled these women "progressive," meaning that they supported efforts to "better the lot of the masses." The reactions of this group showed that women "will be a force for progress." The congress "should raise the consciousness of many women and force them out of the narrow circle of family interests." This discussion of women's issues was expansive, demonstrating that "women's self-interest is closely linked with social interests."<sup>155</sup>

Kuskova was the most skeptical of those who stayed at the Women's Congress. She thought that the quality of the talks given were generally unimpressive and that the men's were overall better than the women's. Of the women's presentations, few in her opinion had any ideas worthy of much attention. Although Kuskova had allied with the workers' group, she was no more impressed by them, considering their talks too abstract and their tactics self-defeating. She especially criticized Kollontai, whose talk "by the loftiness of its style and the absence of historical perspective sooner resembled a manifesto than a scientific analysis." In general, Kuskova wrote, the workers' group had, by the end of the congress, alienated many potential supporters.<sup>156</sup> The congress convinced Kuskova that Russian women were not ready to do the patient, systematic, practical work of political organization. Nor could she deal with the general ideas of the struggle for her interests and for common interests. The congress showed that "on the *outside* she is civilized, educated and able to conduct a public meeting." But under the surface, "*inside* she is still a child, and especially a child in politics, despite her long years of experience in Russia alongside men."<sup>157</sup> The congress demonstrated that "she [the Russian woman] needs to grow and grow fast."<sup>158</sup> S. Tiurbert rebutted Kuskova in *Soiuz zhenshchin*, claiming that the congress itself demonstrated women's political maturity.<sup>159</sup>

Comments from those men who noticed the Women's Congress were generally favorable. St. Petersburg's mayor had officially greeted the delegates at the

opening session. The conservative *Novoe vremia* claimed the gathering as an example of Russian national excellence, “crowning several decades of energetic and talented activity by *our* women.” Another St. Petersburg paper carried that theme further, comparing Russian women favorably to their stereotypical European counterparts: “the German woman, mistress of the kitchen and alcove, and the French woman, light-headed priestess of love and pleasure.”<sup>160</sup> In the moderately liberal newspaper *Russkoe slovo* (Russian word), the critic and philosopher V. V. Rozanov described his change of heart on the woman question, attributing it to the 1908 Women’s Congress and especially Anna Filosofova, the mother of Rozanov’s longtime associate, Dmitri Filosofov. Until he got to know Filosofova, wrote Rozanov, he had derided the women’s movement, believing that women were incapable of book learning and only suited to care for their husband and children. Filosofova had demonstrated to him that such beliefs were “completely, completely not so! Completely, completely the opposite!”<sup>161</sup>

Although largely ignoring the Women’s Congress, the government monitored it through a ubiquitous police presence. The most vociferous attack on the gathering came from the extreme right. Immediately after the congress, the reactionary Duma deputy Vladimir Purishkevich, organizer of the nationalist and anti-Semitic Union of Russian People, sent letters to the three women he considered the main feminist leaders—Filosofova, Pokrovskaiia, and Shabanova—equating the assembly with a gathering of whores, as if any outspoken independent woman had to be a prostitute. The seventy-two-year-old Filosofova created a sensation by making the Duma deputy’s letter public and taking him to court. Three hundred people came to the trial, one woman challenged the deputy to a duel, and a group of soldiers from Kazan wrote condemning Purishkevich’s “incredibly absurd, unprecedented, outrageous act.”<sup>162</sup>

The deputy appealed with “pure heart” to Filosofova for forgiveness, claiming he had not meant to offend her, adding sardonically that she, as a proponent of equal rights, should be willing to be treated like a man.<sup>163</sup> Although many remained privately hostile to women’s rights, Purishkevich’s accusations were so extreme as to make antifeminism buffoonish. The deputy was sentenced to a month in jail. The judge, in his opinion, noted the growing support for women’s rights: “Public opinion on women has changed.” Purishkevich never served his sentence. In the only indication that he paid any attention to the Women’s Congress at all, Tsar Nicholas II intervened with an imperial pardon.<sup>164</sup>

On the left the social democrats reacted more favorably than expected to the Women’s Congress. “M. B.,” in the *Professional’nyi vestnik* (Professional herald), acknowledged that the workers’ group’s conduct was not irreproachable, but that

overall their speeches and all their work at the congress had “well-known and important significance.”<sup>165</sup> Menshevik views were expressed in two articles and an editor’s comment in the March 1909 issue of *Golos sotsial-demokrata*. The first article, by Kollontai, writing under the pseudonym “Mikhailova,” was surprisingly positive, while continuing to argue that socialists and feminists had antithetical aims. From her German exile, she cited a report by Clara Zetkin in the German socialist women’s journal, *Die gleichheit* (Equality), claiming that the Russian congress “had important significance for the entire international socialist movement.”<sup>166</sup> To Kollontai, the congress was equally significant for Russia, for “against a background of triumphant reaction . . . the oppositional mood of the congress, the brave speeches, the ‘left’ resolutions, all this vividly recalled the familiar ‘fighting causes’ of 1905–1906.”<sup>167</sup>

But if this was not the work of the feminist organizers of the congress, then who was responsible for creating this spirit at the congress? The workers’ group, for this small delegation, showed that the government’s rejoicing was premature, for “while on the surface all is quiet, deep down, on the bottom, tireless and fruitful work, self-conscious and self-determined, is going on.” Kollontai questioned the timing of the workers’ walkout, arguing that a protest against the feminists’ attempt to create a unified Russian women’s organization independent of class and party would have been more effective. Nevertheless, to Kollontai, the workers accomplished their pre-congress goals. They had used the assembly as an agitational forum, and they had drawn a clear distinction between the “bourgeois” women’s movement and the “proletarian” women’s movement. In Kollontai’s view the Women’s Congress had demonstrated “that class antagonism . . . which divides the world of women as it does that of men into two hostile camps,” had decisively convinced women workers of the futility of unity with women of other classes.<sup>168</sup>

The second article in the Menshevik paper was much more critical of the workers’ group. “W” criticized the group’s heavy emphasis on economic questions and insistence on the strict “demarcation of class boundaries, which meant that “conjectures about the possibility of even temporary, momentary alliances with the entire congress or its majority, did not arise at all: any hints about that possibility were considered heresy or utopian.” “W” blamed this rigidity on the Bolsheviks, citing the heavy concentration of Bolsheviks in the leadership of the workers’ group. But “W” also blamed the inexperience of the workers themselves. Other delegates also contributed to the workers’ alienation: “The hefty, haughty ladies in their rustling silks and gold jewelry, casting condescending compassion-

ate looks at the workers.” This was “bound to arouse an instinctive protest in the heart of every woman worker.”<sup>169</sup>

“W” was not primarily concerned with the ladies but with the “democratic elements,” the women alienated by the “Octobrist” leanings of the congress leaders. These women, potential allies, had expressed sympathy with the workers by their applause, in private conversations, and in promises to vote with the proletarian group, but these openings were not developed, partially because of the militance of the workers’ speeches. The group made it hard, if not impossible, for a genuine coalition of left and liberal elements to develop. In this way they failed to comprehend the sociopolitical significance of the assembly, “broke the vital threads” of common if temporary political interests linking them with the democratic elements, and created the impression of being against the entire women’s movement. They made it seem as if socialism was the only way to cure social ills and thus failed to “concentrate and pour life into abstract socialist formulas.”<sup>170</sup>

To “W” all was not totally bleak. The workers’ group did accomplish much, especially in the second section, on economics. They had been able to influence the tenor of the resolutions and win acceptance of some of their proposals; they exposed the “utopianism” of proposals for a united women’s party, and they forced the congress to broaden the scope of the woman question.<sup>171</sup> The Menshevik editors added comments after the two articles, agreeing with “W” and chiding Kollontai/Mikhailova. In the future, they wrote, social democratic activists in the women workers’ movement should go beyond the “elementary opposition of the ‘sated and the hungry’ and bring the average proletarian to . . . active and independent participation in the still unfinished general democratic struggle.”<sup>172</sup>

In the April 3 issue of the Bolshevik *Sotsial demokrat*, two articles assessed the Women’s Congress. The first, by a member of the Petersburg Committee of the RSDLP (“Chlen P.K.”) detailed all the conflicts within the workers’ group, the defeat of the Bolshevik position on almost every issue before the group, and the final “demonstrative walkout” that confused so many. Despite the confusion, the writer consoled himself with the thought that the “genuine proletarians” in the workers’ group were most sympathetic to the Bolshevik position.<sup>173</sup> The second article, unsigned, addressed itself to the significance of the congress and to Menshevik criticism of the workers’ group. Again, lack of cohesion within the delegation was acknowledged and attributed to the “newness” of the issue, the way in which the group was selected, and the relative political inexperience of women workers. Despite this, the author noted that the group successfully defined the special situation, goals, and tactics of proletarian women.<sup>174</sup>

Kollontai claimed that the Mensheviks provided the tactical leadership for the workers' group, but she received no support from her party colleagues, if post-congress articles by "W" and Ermanskii were any indication. All in all, concluded the *Sotsial' demokrat* correspondent, the Bolsheviks could be satisfied because the articles demonstrated "the gulf between the real tendency of proletarian development and the preaching of opportunist and liquidator elements, regrettably finding shelter in Social Democratic publications."<sup>175</sup>

Although the workers' group did not last much beyond the Women's Congress, dissolving shortly after, socialist strategy shifted as a result of the impact of interactions with feminists. This was one thing on which all the Social Democratic writers agreed. The congress had clarified the need to make organizing among women workers a priority and to pay particular attention to the needs of the female proletariat. Some steps in that direction were being taken. The workers' group had helped establish a Women's Committee within the Central Bureau of Trade Unions and suggested that every workers' organization set up a special committee for work among women. Several party members wanted to organize a "group within the party for work among women," similar to that existing in Germany. And finally, there was talk of setting up a separate women workers' organization. Ironically, the party-affiliated socialists who at first spurned the Women's Congress now found that it had brought needed attention to the organization of women workers.<sup>176</sup>

Of the goals of the feminists, the dream of a National Council was no closer to reality. The walkout of the workers' group had made calls for unity hopeless or limited at best. There was a flurry of activity right after the Women's Congress, but this soon died down or was repressed. On a speaking tour of the provinces a few months after the congress, Tyrkova reported that a great deal of interest in the woman question existed and that she was only refused permission to speak in two towns, Kharkov and Simferopol. Still, at every talk she did give, police rules prevented any discussion and she was unable to discover what aspect of the woman question particularly concerned those in her audience.<sup>177</sup>

The polemics continued. Kollontai wrote the most detailed Russian socialist critique of the feminists. Her *Social Basis of the Woman Question*, scheduled to be published by Maxim Gorky's press Znanie (Knowledge) on the eve of the 1908 Women's Congress, finally appeared in 1909.<sup>178</sup> Quoting from her mentor Clara Zetkin and adopting Zetkin's hard-line antifeminism, Kollontai argued that there was to be no compromise with the feminists. Her 431-page polemic critiqued "bourgeois feminism" in Russia and the West as doing little to change the fun-

damental conditions of women workers. Kollontai concluded: "Are we now convinced that in all areas of social life in the struggle for women's economic independence, in the striving to solve the complex family problem, and in the attainment of women's political equality the contributions of the bourgeois equal righters have been negligible?"<sup>179</sup> Such critiques angered many feminists, at least one of whom, reflecting the sentiment of many others, again called her "that horrible Kollontai."<sup>180</sup>

Despite Kollontai's continued attacks on the feminists, at least some of the arguments in her book won praise from those she excoriated. The most extensive critique of Kollontai's work came from the feminist historian Ekaterina Shchepkina. As might be expected, Shchepkina found many flaws in the *Social Basis*, accusing its author of straying from her promised economic analysis, paying much less attention to the struggle for women's economic independence than to attacking bourgeois feminists' fight for political rights. In her antifeminist crusade Kollontai omitted evidence of alliances between feminists and socialists, both women and men. For example, Kollontai included nothing about the Women's Union connections to the Trudovik Party, the staunchest Duma supporters of equal rights.<sup>181</sup> Shchepkina defended the fight for equal rights as part of humanity's age-old struggle: "Individualism does not in any way stand in opposition to socialism; they represent two paths of development, equally inherent in humans."<sup>182</sup> At the end of her negative review, Shchepkina still tried to reach across the divide and reawaken a sense of common struggle. She could see some good in Kollontai's polemic. To Shchepkina, *Social Basis* represented "the first attempt to re-establish the vast significance of the woman question, to arouse that same active interest with which it was regarded in the literature of the sixties and seventies of the last century."<sup>183</sup>

Anna Kal'manovich responded to the major critics of the Women's Congress in a talk given a year later in St. Petersburg. She took on all sides, deriding Kuskova's comments about women's political maturity, retorting: "And do we have men who are politically mature? Everybody who sits in our Duma is not a Solon." She also condemned the censure of separatism by Tyrkova and Vol'kenshtein. But Kollontai was the main focus of her attack. *Social Basis*, charged Kal'manovich, contained many inaccurate and contradictory statements about the women's movement. Still, she admitted that Kollontai's section on the interrelationships between economic change and change in the status of women was "beyond argument." Once again, Kal'manovich called for unity among women, regardless of class, in separate women's organizations modeled on Western feminist groups.<sup>184</sup>

ULTIMATELY, the Women's Congress reflected both solidarity and diversity. There were all kinds of feminists present, some who focused on philanthropy, some who equated sexuality and sin, some who wanted only to seek votes for women separate from other social issues. The key points of conflict centered around both theory and tactics. Theoretical debates focused on men and class. The question, "Are men the enemy?" arises sooner or later in discussions about feminism. At the congress the specter of man-hating was raised by women of varying political persuasions, from the Kadet Tyrkova to the independent Marxist Kuskova to the Menshevik Kollontai. Even Kal'manovich felt it necessary to deny the charge of man-hating by affirming her credentials as a wife and mother.

Could the major factions have come to an agreement on suffrage? There was a spectrum of views represented at the Women's Congress. It is inaccurate to consider, for example, the boundaries between feminists and socialists as unbridgeable. Despite the heated discussions about the role of men in the oppression of women and the appropriate remedial tactics, the differences among the factions were not that large. A comparison of the final congress resolutions with those suggested by the workers' group shows both the areas of compromise and conflict. Predictably, the workers' group resolutions stressed the betterment of women's economic position as the key to change. In the end it was not the economic but the political resolution on suffrage that caused the workers' group to walk out. The congress resolutions, particularly on economic change, reflected the influence of the workers' group. There were differences, but none so deep that they could not be overcome. For example, the congress resolutions in the economic section called for the hiring of women factory inspectors and suggested that they be drawn from the ranks of graduates of technical institutes; the workers' group proposed that the inspectors be drawn from among the workers themselves.<sup>185</sup>

In the political section the workers' group turned the tables on the feminist organizers by calling for full universal suffrage. By insisting on a more limited definition of universal suffrage, the Kadet women of the Editorial Bureau gave the workers' group the pretext for a walkout. Ironically, the socialists' protest was made not for bread but for the ballot, the very issue they often criticized as meaningless for women and men in a capitalist society.<sup>186</sup> "It is an old truism," said Kal'manovich after the congress, "that only through the clash of opinions is the truth revealed."<sup>187</sup> The First All-Russian Women's Congress had succeeded in a time of repression in bringing to the fore a discussion of women's situation in



Russia, a topic that had, as Shchepkina noted, been at the center of discussions in the 1860s and 1870s about social change.

Feminists were far from winning equal rights; no democratic reforms were likely from the tsarist regime. During the congress Anna Miliukova framed the situation as a time of "*otsrochka*" (respite) after the "lofty idealistic enthusiasm" of 1905 and 1906. The writer and satirist Nadezhda Teffi put it more bitinglly. Following the congress, in 1909, Teffi skewered both feminists and their male opponents in her play "The Male Congress." The men at her congress give the usual arguments against women's equality, citing their appreciation of women's beauty but also the fair sex's innate inferiority ("Her brain has absolutely no convolutions"). In the end the women compromise with the men. Playing on the slogan printed on the buttons worn by all Women's Congress participants, Teffi's women declare: "Let them take our responsibilities, and as for our rights, these can wait a little longer."<sup>188</sup>

## “And Who Will Tend the Geese?”

No one, except an antediluvian ichthyosaurus, disputes the right of women to independent human existence.

—*Feminist Maria V. Orlovskaia, 1908*

One of the chief tasks of the twentieth century . . . consists of keeping women in the sphere most suited to them—the family and the home.

—*Minister of Justice Ivan G. Shcheglovitov, 1913*

THE PERIOD from 1909 until the outbreak of World War I became, for Russia's nascent political movements, largely a time of malaise and decline. After the tsar's dismissal of the First and Second Dumas, the electoral law of June 3, 1907, ensured conservative majorities in the Third Duma. The Trudoviks, the staunchest feminist allies, were the largest losers. Their 104-member delegation in the Second Duma shrank to 13 in the Third Duma. The conservative Octobrist delegation in the Third Duma gained the most, increasing from 54 to 154. Kadet representation declined from 98 delegates in the Second Duma to 54 in the Third. Outside the Duma the Kadets experienced the “rapid disintegration of [their] extraparlimentary organizations,” losing three-quarters of their hundred thousand members by October 1907.<sup>1</sup> Among leaders of the center and moderate left parties, there was a growing sense of “frustration and futility,” of “political and social *anomie*.” Hopes for democratic change drastically diminished as the government shaped a legislature more sympathetic to its policies.<sup>2</sup>

The women's movement proved no exception to the overall tendency of liberals and the left to react to Prime Minister Peter Stolypin's counterrevolution with despair and alarm. The shattering of hopes and dreams, as well as the disappointments and recriminations following the 1908 Women's Congress, deepened the feminists' general sense of malaise. Disheartened by her failure to win government sanction for a National Council of Russian Women, Anna Filosofova saw time running out for herself and for the Russian women's movement. On January 14, 1910, she wrote to Lady Aberdeen, head of the International Council of Women: "When I saw you last," "my parting words were: '*Je ne perds pas courage!*' . . . But at present, I feel that the unwholesome political conditions we live in, my illness and approaching old age force me to tell you that '*j'ai perdu courage!*'"<sup>3</sup> Was the emergence of a mass feminist movement in 1905 and 1907 the high point of prerevolutionary feminism, with its last gasp the 1908 Women's Congress?<sup>4</sup> There is certainly evidence for this interpretation. The hopes for action raised by the approval of Finnish suffrage and the left-liberal majorities in the First and Second Dumas had been dashed. The Equal Rights Union, the largest women's rights organization, had ceased to exist. The Union's last public symbol, the journal *Soiuz zhenshchin*, published its final issue at the end of 1909.

The remaining feminist groups—such as the Russian Women's Society, the League for Women's Equal Rights, and the Club of the Women's Progressive Party—were small. The repression has been seen as paralyzing the feminists: "Timidity verging on fear among women resulted in a diminution of organizational activities."<sup>5</sup> But such an interpretation overlooks the ways in which feminist activists adapted to their changing circumstances, keeping sight of their ultimate goals. While it is true that certain activities, such as public meetings and mass outreach, were curtailed during this period, the feminists were able to shift tactics to small deeds, and still press forward with their agenda. A determined cadre of activists remained largely intact, spearheading continuing efforts to keep women's rights issues in the public eye. Forced to close ranks, those still involved sharpened their focus and adjusted their strategies. Despite the loss of key supporters in the Duma, they continued to raise societal consciousness about the importance of suffrage and women's rights overall. By 1914 opposition to women's rights, while still powerful, was largely the province of the far right wing. And the very nature of the opposition from the right aided the feminists' cause.

Still, personally and politically, navigating the reactionary waters was not easy. Maria Chekhova's decisions in the face of the changing political climate are illustrative. Despite a supportive spouse, family, and network of activist friends,

Chekhova could not sustain her work at *Soiuz zhenshchin*. In the spring of 1908, before the Women's Congress, Liubov Gurevich was "stunned" to learn about Chekhova's possible decision. Demonstrating the informal ways in which feminists encouraged each other, Gurevich strenuously sought to convince Chekhova to persist. Although she sympathized with Chekhova's troubles, Gurevich, who herself had withdrawn from public feminist activity, insisted that her friend remain at her post. "It would be the bankruptcy of the entire Russian women's movement in its central, most lively point." She continued: "No one, except you, can stand in the center, unite, come out from under a thousand difficulties, thanks to your special features and qualities. . . . If you leave, the journal will need to close right away. . . . No union or club, even the congress, is as necessary as the journal."<sup>6</sup> Gurevich could leave, but Chekhova was indispensable.

Ultimately Gurevich's admonitions did not dissuade Chekhova. Writing to the journal's remaining readers in December 1909, she explained the decision to stop publishing in financial and political terms. The journal was chronically short of money. Keeping the publication alive had involved continuous struggle. Although it had been authorized at the Third Delegate Congress in May 1906, the publication did not appear until June 1907, and by then its sponsoring organization, the Equal Rights Union, was already falling apart. *Soiuz zhenshchin* owed its survival to the volunteer labor of its staff and to small monthly contributions of five rubles apiece from twenty women who resolved to help support the journal. By the third year only eight financial backers remained. As had happened earlier with the larger union membership, the backers "outgrew those ideas which had made it possible for them to unite around the journal despite some differences in their political perspective and in their views on the women's movement. Three years of working on the basic questions of the women's movement gave each of them a more defined point of view." They took different paths; some completely dropped out of political work. The 1908 Women's Congress did for a time generate more interest, but it was not sustaining. Finally, with the press run at a thousand and the editorial collective dwindling, the staff (read Chekhova) concluded from their own experience and examples in the West that a feminist journal could only be sustained by "a unified women's organization with its moral and material support, and not by a random group of people sympathetic to the women's movement." Although the repression no doubt affected the subscription and financial base of *Soiuz zhenshchin*, at no point in her discussion of the decision to stop publishing did Chekhova imply government interference or repression.<sup>7</sup>

Describing the unraveling of the union and its journal purely in organizational and general financial terms, Chekhova also omitted to mention the personal,

gender-based factors affecting those who ventured into the feminist political arena. To the feminist activist M. V. Orlovskaiia, such pressures were the real reason for the demise of *Soiuz zhenshchin*. At the beginning of 1910, Chekhova moved to Moscow to follow her husband, who had found work teaching at several private women's *gimnaziia* and at the Prechistenskie workers' courses. Chekhova's relocation, charged Orlovskaiia, was key to killing *Soiuz zhenshchin*.<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to know on the basis of current evidence all the factors involved in Chekhova's decision. Neither Gurevich's pleading nor Orlovskaiia's criticism ultimately stopped Chekhova from joining her husband and family. The energy or resources needed to continue the journal without Chekhova were absent. But the move allowed Chekhova to break her last official connection with the union and recast her activism in a different locale.

The difficulties of starting and sustaining a feminist periodical in this period can also be demonstrated by the fate of *Zhenskaia mysl'* (Woman's thought). Edited and published in Kiev by Maria Petrova-Svobodina, the biweekly journal first appeared on November 15, 1909, proclaiming its dedication "to equal rights and the improvement of the economic position of women."<sup>9</sup> Seeking to bring the feminist message directly into other parts of the Russian Empire, the journal's founders encountered familiar problems with financing. In addition, a Russian-language publication in the capital of Ukraine, with its well-developed nationalist movement, had limited appeal. Nevertheless the women pressed on, enlisting as contributors and sponsors such prominent activists as Maria Pokrovskaiia, Olga Shapir, and Anna Kal'manovich, the latter two with strong provincial connections because of their activism in Saratov.<sup>10</sup> The journal's pages were filled with poetry, short stories, news of the women's movement, extensive coverage of the 1908 Women's Congress, articles on the international women's movement, and ones emphasizing the importance of overcoming women's economic dependence on men. Featured articles reflected a socialist slant. As one of the male contributors noted in the first issue: "Economic dependence is the source of all slavery."<sup>11</sup>

The journal's short history again demonstrated the problems of winning over the feminists' chief potential source of readers, the female intelligentsia. Reader feedback provides insight into the expectations and self-image of educated women. In a letter to *Zhenskii vestnik*, a group of students from the Kiev women's higher and medical courses rebuked Pokrovskaiia for her favorable review of *Zhenskaia mysl'*. Charging that the new publication was taking advantage of an atmosphere more sympathetic to the women's movement, they argued that the journal's contents contradicted its name: "If a magazine calls itself *Woman's Thought*, we have a right to expect it to be serious and represent the thinking and searching Russian

woman." Instead these students found: "Crude or even just plain cynical stories written by men (are there no women writers among us?)" and shallow poetry of "loose and uncereemonious content."<sup>12</sup> Although she could see merit in the criticism, Pokrovskaiia considered it too harsh. But *Zhenskaia mysl'* did not gain traction; its short run ended in 1910.<sup>13</sup>

The weariness of prominent activists and the closing of journals were certainly disheartening. But this was not the whole picture. Feminists had not fulfilled many of their goals but despite setbacks, they demonstrated resilience and persistence, ensuring that attention continued to be paid to a wide range of issues affecting women. The prospects for suffrage in Russia had dimmed, but inspiration could be found elsewhere. The growth of the global women's movement gave hope. In other countries women's activism reawakened the sense of possibility for the attainment of voting rights. Emmeline Pankhurst led the Women's Social and Political Union in pursuing their militant campaign in Britain; women were mobilizing outside the West as well, with strong suffrage movements emerging in China, Japan, and Latin America. Women's suffrage and women's rights remained the subject of passionate debate on both the right and the left. Conservatives, fearing the appeal of the revolutionary "virus" among women, sought to maintain and enforce traditional roles in the home. On the left, party activists anxiously worried about female conservatism and religiosity.

The decision to stop publishing *Soiuz zhenshchin* left one monthly feminist publication, Pokrovskaiia's *Zhenskii vestnik*. Although *Zhenskii vestnik* provided an alternative feminist perspective and documentation of relevant events of this period, its small circulation and Pokrovskaiia's radical feminism often conflicted with mainstream women's rights views. Unlike Chekhova, Pokrovskaiia, although she was disheartened by the negative responses, persisted in publishing *Zhenskii vestnik*, even though it suffered from many of the same problems as *Soiuz zhenshchin*. From the beginning, the feminist physician knew that *Zhenskii vestnik* would not be as thick or as attractive as other journals. Begun in 1904 and financed by Pokrovskaiia's medical earnings, its office her modest two-room apartment, the journal never won wide support.<sup>14</sup> In part, this was due to male hostility; at least one subscriber reported that her husband threw the journal into the fireplace.<sup>15</sup> But mostly women were indifferent to or disapproved of *Zhenskii vestnik*. Some criticized its size (too little) and its three-ruble-a-year subscription price (too high); others disliked its "ideological side."<sup>16</sup>

Pokrovskaiia hoped that her venture would attract wide female support and allow for improvements, but all her efforts to raise more money failed. No one

wanted to fund what they considered to be a hopeless cause. Instead, the skeptics had been proven right, and every year the journal ran a deficit. Women's apathy was hard to understand: "They begrudge giving three rubles for propaganda urging the betterment of their own situation!" Still, Pokrovskaia preferred to publish a modest journal rather than nothing at all. "More than once," she confessed, "I was ready to cease publication of the *Zhenskii vestnik*, or start publishing another journal, but I was always held back by the thought that there would be no other organ in defense of women's rights." She consoled herself with hopes for a brighter future: "When the consciousness of women is awakened, then they will spend much greater sums on propaganda, then they will not begrudge the money, and even jail will not be frightening."<sup>17</sup>

Seeking to combine women's rights advocacy with more traditional female interests, a number of less overtly political publications emerged at the same time as *Soiuz zhenshchin*. Countess Alexandra Muravieva's *Damskii mir* (Ladies world), an upper-class Anglophile monthly, gradually included women's political news. Sofia Bogel'man's *Zhenshchina* (Woman) advocated expanding the knowledge of its readers by exploring the entire range of women's roles. Accordingly, Bogel'man published sections devoted to women as "citizen, wife, mother, homemaker, nutritionist, doctor, teacher, caregiver," among others.<sup>18</sup>

The potential market for periodicals appealing to women and combining attention to the public sphere as well as to traditional female roles led a number of men to enter the field. Alexander Lobanov's *Zhurnal dlia khoziak* (Magazine for housewives) began publishing in 1912; the *Zhurnal dlia zhenshchin* (Magazine for women) emerged in 1914.<sup>19</sup> The first of these publications, and the one most closely linked to feminist activists, was *Zhenskoe delo* (Woman's cause), a biweekly published in Moscow, which initially appeared on January 10, 1910. As with *Soiuz zhenshchin*, the official emblem of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the bilndfolded female symbol of justice, was prominently displayed on its masthead, along with the Latin inscription "Jus suffragii." *Zhenskoe delo* combined the serious attention to the woman question shown by *Soiuz zhenshchin* and *Zhenskii vestnik* with the format of more popular women's magazines. Articles on fashion, food, advice to the lovelorn, and advertisements for cold cream, corsets and catarrh remedies, shared space with coverage of the domestic and international women's movement.<sup>20</sup>

*Zhenskoe delo*'s editor, Lev Rodionov, a populist in his youth, had been imprisoned for his political activity. A lawyer by training, he authored a popular book on constitutional law, and like many others with his background, he joined

the Kadet party in 1905. Unlike Chekhova and Pokrovskaiia, Rodionov had prior journalistic experience, having edited *Nov'* (Virgin soil), the Kadet party paper in Moscow. He remained at the helm of *Zhenskoe delo* until his death in 1915. In the first issue he enunciated his vision of a kinder, gentler feminism, one that eschewed critiques of the family and refrained from viewing men as the enemy. "We do not call for the destruction of the family," he wrote. "On the contrary, a free and fully equal woman will be able to strengthen the family and purify it from centuries of accumulated ugly and sick excrescences." *Zhenskoe delo* "will be completely opposed to that narrow militant feminism, that attitude which calls women to fight with men as with a hereditary enemy. Such feminism is a regrettable error. . . . The woman question is a human question."<sup>21</sup>

Rodionov's formula worked. *Zhenskoe delo* continued publishing until the Bolshevik Revolution. In their eulogy for him in 1915, the journal's editorial staff asserted that before *Zhenskoe delo*, "two types of women's magazines were known in Russia: fashion magazines dedicated to the narrow interest of the tailor's art, and the singular, dry, dogmatic *Zhenskii vestnik*." Rodionov "took the ideas of women's equal rights out of the narrow circle of Russian feminists into the broad sections of Russian society."<sup>22</sup> *Zhenskoe delo* was part of the repositioning of women's rights issues and the push for their greater acceptance in society, as part of an articulation of modern and democratic ideals. One could be both fashionable and a feminist.

As the feminists transitioned to strategies and tactics more appropriate for the times, the main cadre of leaders demonstrated at key moments an ability to work together, especially in lobbying the Duma and the government, despite their differences. Anna Shabanova continued as president of the Russian Women's Society, which saw its membership tumble to about five hundred. Along with Shabanova and Filosofova, Olga Shapir, Evgeniia Avilova, and temperance activist Evgeniia Chebysheva-Dmitrieva remained active in the Russian Women's Society. Maria Pokrovskaiia and Maria Blandova represented the Women's Progressive Party. Pokrovskaiia kept *Zhenskii vestnik* publishing on a shoestring, and the Club of the Women's Progressive Party periodically met in St. Petersburg. Maria Chekhova continued to support and be supported by a network of friends. Her personal archive includes correspondence with feminist activists across the political spectrum, including Praskov'ia Belenkaia Arian, Anna Filosofova, Liubov Gurevich, Anna Kal'manovich, Anna Miliukova, Zinaida Mirovich, Liudmila Ruttsen, Anna Shabanova, Ekaterina Nikolaevna Shchepkina, Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein, Ariadna Tyrkova, and the writer Lidia Zinov'eva-Anibal.<sup>23</sup>



Along with the 1905 Women's Union activists, other leaders injected fresh energy into the struggle. Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein (1875–1947) and her friend Olga Ianovskaia, cofounders of the League for Women's Equal Rights in 1906, quickly moved to the forefront of feminist activity. With Shishkina-Iavein as president of the St. Petersburg chapter of the League and by 1913, Dr. Maria Burdakova president of the Moscow chapter, female physicians led all the major Russian women's rights organizations.<sup>24</sup> The high percentage of doctors among Russian feminist leaders was unusual. In the United States and Britain, for example, feminist leaders such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and the Pankhursts came from more traditional middle-class backgrounds and had less formal education.

Shishkina-Iavein, like many Russian feminist leaders, came from a modest gentry background. Growing up with six brothers, all of them college-educated, she had high aspirations, refusing to be deterred by barriers to women's advancement. Applying to medical school, she encountered sexism on the part of school administrators. Judging her too attractive, the admissions committee questioned whether she would marry and fail to graduate. She persuaded them to admit her. One of her professors, Georgii Iulievich Iavein (1863–1920), twelve years her senior, did propose marriage. She accepted, but marriage did not stop Shishkina-Iavein from completing her studies. Challenging the conventions of the time, she persevered to become the first woman gynecologist in Russia. One of the most visible Russian feminist leaders from 1910 through 1917, Shishkina-Iavein played a major role in developing movement strategies through this period of repression, war, and revolution.<sup>25</sup>

Many former Women's Union leaders regrouped in the League for Women's Equal Rights, which became the largest of the feminist organizations. This move appears to have begun before the 1908 Women's Congress; it certainly was well under way after the congress. News of the League occupied many pages of *Soiuz zhenshchin* during its last year of publication. The League was smaller and a legal organization. Although League members participated in feminist meetings as early as 1906, the League's charter was first registered with the St. Petersburg city government on March 6, 1907. Like the Mutual Philanthropic Society, those listed in the League's registration papers appear to have had little to do with the actual organization. They were identified as wives or widows from the service class (for example, "Elena Konstantinovna Myshlaevskaia, wife of a lieutenant-general; Fedosiia Pavlovna Maksimovich, widow of a nobleman"). The organization's basic goal, as stated in its charter, was: "The attainment by all women of political and

civil rights identical with the rights of Russian male citizens, with the goal of improving the legal and economic situation of women." That the group received official approval indicates a surprising departure, in a time of repression, from the pre-1905 government regulations limiting the range of activities of women's organizations to education and philanthropy.<sup>26</sup>

In its organizational structure, the League resembled the Mutual Philanthropic Society. The governing body consisted of twelve members and four candidate-members chosen for three-year terms, allowing for more stable policymaking than the Women's Union, with the shifting membership of its delegate congresses. Like most Russian political organizations, the League was urban-centered, its members mostly located in Moscow and St. Petersburg, with chapters also in Kharkov and Tomsk. If the organization's rank and file reflected its real leaders, the League's members were likely to be part of the female intelligentsia, especially teachers and physicians. Membership in the League was open to all women "without regard to nationality, class and political party." To attract those of modest means, the dues, one ruble a year, were relatively low. Like the Women's Union, membership in the League for Women's Equal Rights was also open to men, but none is listed in the available annual reports.<sup>27</sup>

The early League tested the limits of possibilities for legal women's organizations after 1905. League members collected signatures for the suffrage petitions to the Second Duma, but it was not until after the 1908 congress that the group attracted more attention.<sup>28</sup> The charter members dropped out or faded to the background as such Women's Union stalwarts as Chekhova, Mirovich, factory physician Olga Klirikova, Kal'manovich, and educator Olga Bervi-Kaidanova joined Shishkina-Iavein as members.<sup>29</sup> Befitting the changed political circumstances, the League membership never went above two thousand, and there were few, if any, workers or peasants among its members.<sup>30</sup>

Chekhova, although disillusioned by the lack of support for *Soiuz zhenshchin*, envisioned the League as a promising national organization for the achievement of feminist goals. Speaking to a January 25, 1909, League meeting in St. Petersburg, she noted that the 1908 Women's Congress had passed a resolution favoring the creation of a nationwide women's organization that could unite those working for equal rights. Citing Western precedents, she observed that such organizations had taken two forms: national councils of women and women's suffrage unions. The first united the cultural work of women in the areas of philanthropy, education, and mutual aid; the second was purely political. In Russia both forms had been proposed, and the Women's Union had even begun to create a nationwide

network. Retaining the functions of traditional women's organizations in the areas of education, charity, and self-help, the League's main goal would be the struggle for women's political rights and the unification of all women who wanted to take part in this struggle. And, most important under the repressive Russian conditions, the League was legal.<sup>31</sup>

The ex-union members continued their emphasis on broadening equal rights while recognizing the more limited possibilities offered by the Third Duma and the Stolypin government. Chekhova, speaking for the leadership of the League, defined the group's tasks as all aimed at achieving equal rights within the legal parameters defined by the tsarist government. These included training women activists, propagandizing for equal rights in "society," and preparing legislative proposals or petitions to public and governmental institutions to improve women's legal and political situation.<sup>32</sup> The League officially opened its Moscow branch at a meeting in January 1910, chaired by Chekhova, the chapter's first president. Again, former union members dominated and the topics chosen reflected their interests. Mirovich spoke about the contemporary European women's movement; Bervi-Kaidanova lectured on the "Pedagogical Tasks of the League."<sup>33</sup>

Chekhova's vision was not shared by all League members, especially some of the newer ones. In 1911, Maria Raikh, in a speech on the League's "Goals and Tasks," downplayed the possibility of achieving feminist victories in the climate of the times: "Neither political agitation, nor political organization in unions is possible at present." Chekhova emphasized the political; Raikh supported what she saw as the transformation of the League into "a many-sided cultural union [whose] ideas will be vehicles for the woman question, its problems, its strivings, its hopes and its aspirations."<sup>34</sup> Raikh's aversion to the political was not shared by other League members. The Moscow and St. Petersburg branches cooperated in the development of a number of legislative proposals.

To win favorable action, the women's rights activists could no longer muster mass petition campaigns or mass rallies, as they could in the heady days of 1905 through 1907. In the repressive atmosphere the tactics of the Pankhursts and Chinese suffragists were not possible, and most of the feminist leaders would not have favored them in any case.<sup>35</sup> Besides, militant women were not new in Russia, where female revolutionaries successfully planned the assassination of the head of state and maimed or killed other officials. Focusing on tactics more suitable to their circumstances, the feminist cadres continued lobbying, working with Duma deputies on possible legislative proposals, publicizing women's issues by holding congresses and public meetings, writing articles in feminist and other publica-

tions, traveling to international women's congresses, and in general maintaining contact with the global feminist movement.

### In the Court of Public Opinion

Feminist activists continued to make headway in developing a popular consensus in favor of equal rights and suffrage. Russian feminists were no different from most other members of the intelligentsia in the particular reverence with which they held cultural figures. Soon after the 1908 Women's Congress concluded, a correspondent for the Kadet newspaper *Rech'*, noting the absence of any attention to women's role in the country's cultural life, interviewed the renowned Russian actress Vera Kommissarzhevskaja. Kommissarzhevskaja had not attended the congress, and she criticized the "narrow sphere of feminism." Nevertheless, she insisted that it would be "nonsense" to consider her an opponent of women's equal rights. The Women's Congress had been useful because in a time of quiescence it raised social awareness and "awakened women, forcing them anew to ponder the general situation and women's fate [*dolei*]." Those outside the movement but sympathetic were finding ways to frame their understanding of feminism so that they could support it and make it seem less militant.<sup>36</sup>

And those who had previously been vocally unsympathetic were now finding ways to modify or reverse their positions. Sometimes unsolicited, prominent male writers, representing a variety of perspectives, announced their support of women's rights. Seeking legitimacy for their cause, feminists also courted respected artists and writers. Leo Tolstoy occupied a particularly honored place among progressives, for his pacifism, professed egalitarianism, and his outspoken opposition to the tsarist state. A large picture of the author perched next to an icon in Filosofova's bedroom. Pokrovskaja solicited Tolstoy's opinion about women's rights, finally publishing his response to her query in 1909. Tolstoy wrote Pokrovskaja that "there can be no question about the inequality of men and women, since by the teachings of Christ in each person, without regard to sex, there exists the same manifestation of the divine."<sup>37</sup>

Tolstoy consistently supported women's legal rights, even as he gave mixed messages about the sexual hierarchy. A year later, the revered author told Severova, the artist Ilya Repin's wife, that "women should be equal before the law," although he added that "in general, I consider women to be lower than men."<sup>38</sup> Tolstoy was not alone in making this distinction. Others advocated women's rights even while

retaining their belief in male superiority. Pamphlet writers Pavel Mizhnev and Veniamin Khvostov maintained that despite their physical and mental inferiority to men, women still deserved the vote.<sup>39</sup> The painter Ilya Repin, the writer Maxim Gorkii, and the economist Tugan-Baranovskii all responded positively to a questionnaire sent out in 1912 by the Club of the Women's Progressive Party. To Gorkii, women's right to vote was "unquestionably desirable and necessary." That the esteemed writer had paid little attention to the matter was also evident. Showing his ignorance of what already existed, he suggested "the organization of an all-Russian women's society of women's rights advocates for propagandizing this idea," seven years after all-Russian women's rights organizations had first appeared in his country.<sup>40</sup>

Did the progressive intelligentsia's egalitarian ideology ensure that sexism got lost in Russian translation? The evidence is suggestive. Futurism, for example, had its origins as a literary movement in pre-World War I Italy (1909–1913) in F. T. Marinetti's manifestoes. Marinetti, among other things, sought to "combat moralizing feminism," condemning the "denigration of love caused through the ever-growing emancipation of women." Vladimir Mayakovskii and other Russian futurists condemned Marinetti, declaring: "We had nothing in common with Italian futurism except the name." Valerii Briusov, comparing the Italian and Russian futurists, noted that "on one point there exists a complete divergence between the Italians and the Russian futurists: in their views on love and women."<sup>41</sup>

In Russia, educated women, commonly fluent in several languages, were often employed as translators. Their translations could neutralize the gender bias of the western European originals. The female translator of Jules Payot's *L'Education de la volonté*, for example, used the gender-free *vialost'* (flabbiness, inertia, languor), while the U.S. male translator understood the same word as "effeminacy." Some Russian male translators also appear to have been more likely to use gender-neutral terms, as can be seen in several translations of Rudyard Kipling's works.<sup>42</sup>

If support for legalizing women's rights became the norm among leading cultural and progressive political figures, what about the masses? The suffrage petitions collected in the First and Second Dumas showed support from members of both sexes and all social classes. Between 1909 and 1912 the use of polls and questionnaires to gain information about popular life and popular attitudes grew more common. Feminists used them to gauge public support for women's rights.<sup>43</sup> The results were generally favorable. From 1909 through 1910, of a thousand students polled at St. Petersburg Technological Institute, two-thirds (66.7 percent) favored equal rights. Of the remaining students, only 17 percent were completely op-

posed.<sup>44</sup> The St. Petersburg Club of the Women's Progressive Party assiduously sent out questionnaires in this period. In 1909 the club polled newspaper editors with the request that they spread the word among their readers. The response was small, but again showed a large pro-suffrage majority. One hundred nineteen supported suffrage and thirty-one completely opposed it.<sup>45</sup> Of those opposed, four were women. Three of the women claimed there were "higher tasks" for women as mothers; one favored suffrage in principle on the condition that women be subject to a civil obligation (she suggested teaching) similar to men's military obligations.<sup>46</sup>

The attitudes of workers and peasants were harder to determine, although again there is some impressionistic evidence. Male peasants were often cited as the most adamant opponents of female equality. Yet members of the Trudovik peasant party remained the most consistent supporters of women's rights; although many were intellectuals, they still had to represent their constituencies. In 1911 a Trudovik deputy announced in the Duma that letters from peasants in different parts of the country overwhelmingly supported women's suffrage.<sup>47</sup> Male workers also responded to inquiries about the female vote. In 1912 the Club of the Women's Progressive Party placed a questionnaire in the form of an ad in a number of newspapers. Respondents totaled 142 people, and again the overwhelming majority, 126, favored female suffrage. The heaviest response came from readers of the two Bolshevik papers, *Pravda* (Truth) and *Nevskaia zvezda* (Nevskii star). Forty-three, mostly men, responded; only two opposed suffrage.<sup>48</sup>

These surveys can hardly be conclusive, but they provide some supporting evidence for Orlovskaiia's assertion that "no one, except an antediluvian ichthysaurus [*sic*] disputes the right of women to independent human existence."<sup>49</sup> Among Russian liberals and radicals there was not the unalloyed misogyny displayed by male leaders elsewhere. As the historian Linda Edmondson has noted: "In Russia no radical would have dared, as Proudhon did in France, to give vent to misogynist sentiments in public."<sup>50</sup> A sizable segment of Russians, from intellectuals to workers and peasants, from socialists to moderate conservatives, shared a consensus in favor of women's rights. When in February 1914 the League for Women's Equal Rights held a public debate on the "woman question" in St. Petersburg, they could find only one man, Vasilevskii, to argue against a panel of mostly male pro-equality speakers, including Duma delegates, doctors, and professors. Tyrkova commented acidly that Vasilevskii's presentation was sufficiently inadequate to prove the validity of women's demands for equality.<sup>51</sup>

Support for women's rights among most parts of the population may have grown, but the issue still raised anxieties and opposition within the government. In 1913 tsarist officials prosecuted the publishers of the journal *Fars* and the newspapers *Trudovoi golos* (Labor voice), *Vestnik prikazchika* (Sales help herald), and *Luch* (Ray), among others, for publishing such articles as "The Liberation of Women," "The Status of Women in Trade and Industry," "Women's Work in Moscow," and "The Women Workers Movement and Its Goals," for violating censorship regulations.<sup>52</sup> The chief public arena of struggle with those on the right was in the Third and Fourth Dumas. Despite the rightward tilt of these Dumas, feminist leaders continued to work with Duma representatives to change laws. As the gulf between progressive society and the tsarist government grew, women's rights became one way to demonstrate opposition to the autocracy in a relatively safe arena of conflict.

There was no reason to expect anything tangible in the Duma. When the Club of the Women's Progressive Party sent 440 of its ubiquitous questionnaires in September 1908 to Duma deputies, it received just 49 responses. Of these, twenty-four deputies favored women's suffrage without any limitations, and seventeen favored some limited form of suffrage. Eight were completely opposed. One of the eight, the reactionary Vladimir Purishkevich, who had already made his views known after the 1908 Women's Congress, answered "with obscenities."<sup>53</sup> But despite the right opposition, the feminists had some successes. A coalition of deputies ranging from the Octobrists to the Bolsheviks, passed several bills. The main opposition, the extreme right and the nationalists, were generally unable to win a majority even in this most conservative of Dumas.<sup>54</sup> However, once bills left the Duma and ventured further in the Russian hierarchy, they usually foundered, were seriously altered, or were completely rejected.

Proposals for sweeping reform were generally abandoned in favor of "small deeds," attempts to soften or eliminate individual laws discriminating against women. The Kadet deputy Adzhemov, speaking in the Fourth Duma, noted the change. The First Duma aimed "broadly at the full equality of women with men," the Second Duma concentrated on women's political rights, but the Third Duma's approach was "separate laws, separate reforms, relating not to the political rights of women, but to their civil and at times social rights."<sup>55</sup> Half of the members of the State Council (Gosudarstvennyi soviet) were appointed by the tsar; the other half were elected in an even more restrictive manner than the Duma. The Council of Ministers served at the pleasure of the tsar. And, despite his decree approving

women's suffrage in Finland, there was no indication that the tsar was about to extend such a reform to the rest of the empire.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the debates about the bills concerning women that did get through the Duma provide glimpses into the perspectives of high government officials and show how the feminists were able to win some small victories.

Seeking incremental change required expending great amounts of energy. Any lingering hopes for major change were dashed in the process of fighting for single reforms, especially regarding inheritance and passport rights, which mostly benefited privileged women. All the same, in this period the feminists won more in terms of concrete concessions than they had in the more liberal First and Second Dumas. Some women's rights proposals gained support within the government once the Duma initiated action. Such was the case with the reform of the laws governing the personal and property rights of married women, supported by the Ministry of Justice. Russian married women had greater property rights than women in most other societies. Two exceptions to full control of their property existed. They could not obtain credit or hire help without the consent of their husbands.<sup>57</sup> In terms of personal rights, the Russian wife was less fortunate. She could not obtain her own passport or live separately from her husband without his consent; he had the right to choose their place of residence, and she was obliged to live there. Divorces were difficult, almost impossible, to obtain.<sup>58</sup>

The rule requiring the husband's consent for the issuance of his wife's separate passport was an early focal point.<sup>59</sup> Efforts at reform in this area began under the conservative Tsar Alexander III. The issue of changing the passport system was first raised in the State Council in 1884. The tsar ordered the Ministry of Justice to initiate a discussion of the issue and prepare a proposal to change the regulations. Fourteen years later, in 1898, a proposal won strong support in the State Council but was blocked by the arch-conservative Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobedonostsev.<sup>60</sup> The State Council reviewed another proposal in 1903, but once again no action was taken.<sup>61</sup> But as usual, ways of circumventing the law developed. In the 1860s Russian radical men and women entered into "fictitious marriages," in which the men volunteered to marry and then provide their wives with separate passports.<sup>62</sup> Among the peasants some village priests developed a ceremony sanctifying the separation of a couple.<sup>63</sup> Others, condemned to fractious family life, may have taken direct action by murdering the offending partner. Russian crime statistics for 1909, for example, showed that although the percentage of female criminals was only 7.7 percent of the total of all criminals, the percentage involved in crimes connected with the family was much higher. Women accounted for 29.8



percent of all those convicted of murdering a spouse or relative and 45.8 percent, or almost half the total of those convicted of poisoning a spouse.<sup>64</sup>

Still, there were many who were unable or unwilling to get around the law. Sometimes they sought help from women's organizations. In 1905, for example, the Sebastopol branch of the Russian Society for the Defense of Women (Rossiiskoe obshchestvo zashchity zhenshchin) reported 647 cases of women having problems concerning separate passports. In one case, probably not uncommon, an illiterate woman made a complaint, was asked to sign a paper that both her husband and an official had assured her was harmless, and later discovered that she had signed an agreement to drop her case.<sup>65</sup>

The tortuous path of the proposal to change the passport rule shows the difficulties encountered even by a women's rights bill with bureaucratic support. The Suffrage Section of the Mutual Philanthropic Society initiated Duma action on this issue with a legislative proposal introduced May 10, 1910, and endorsed by seventy-three deputies, including Trudoviks, Kadets, Progressives, and Octobrists.<sup>66</sup> The proposal sought to legalize separate living arrangements for spouses and to change the passport regulations to eliminate the husband's consent stipulation. Sent immediately to the committee on judicial reform, it returned to the full Duma three-quarters of a year later, on February 11, 1911. There was no real opposition; a Ministry of Justice representative expressed support for the bill, promising to rework it and reintroduce it "within a short time." Exactly fourteen months later, on April 11, 1912, the measure finally reappeared and passed unanimously in an atmosphere of remarkable harmony for a women's rights measure.<sup>67</sup>

But even the support of the Ministry of Justice did not get this bill through the State Council, the "graveyard of hopes" for change, intact.<sup>68</sup> On April 2, 1913, it was returned to the Duma for a new review and sent back to the judicial reform committee, to return finally on February 4, 1914. In its most controversial change the State Council, wary of further undermining the patriarchal role of head of the family, cut a provision stating that wives could be included on husbands' passports only with the woman's consent. The Duma committee accepted this change in the interests of passage of the whole bill. Left deputies disagreed, lost their bids to amend the measure, and boycotted the final vote. The bill passed and finally became law on March 12, 1914.<sup>69</sup>

Though disappointed that a more sweeping law did not pass, the feminists nevertheless rejoiced at this small and hard-fought victory. *Zhenskoe delo* noted that "despite all its shortcomings," the new law had "enormous significance in real life."<sup>70</sup> The law was a step forward for married women. Those living separately

no longer needed their husband's permission to take an ordinary job; enter into public, private, or government service; or work in educational institutions. The demand by one spouse to resume living together could be denied by the other partner if this would be intolerable to her or him. The law enumerated acceptable reasons for considering a joint living situation intolerable. These included cruelty and abuse, and for the wife, "contracting a disease in which the continuation of conjugal life is dangerous to life and health." A husband had responsibility for supporting and feeding his estranged wife if necessary, except when the wife was at fault in the breakup of the marriage. The law also provided procedures for resolving child custody disputes. And it allowed married women to have full financial responsibility and to take out separate passports without the consent of their husbands.<sup>71</sup> Such a proposal, enumerating all the ways in which separate living arrangements were possible, eased some of the pressure created by the highly restrictive Russian Orthodox divorce laws. The Synod's attempts at reform had not changed the same limited grounds for divorce.<sup>72</sup> But the 1914 act did not, of course, address the barriers to separation created by the economic situation of most women and the force of patriarchal custom.

The drive to change the inheritance laws began a bit earlier and was less successful. The key law on inheritance, Article 1130 of the Civil Code, stipulated that daughters receive only a fraction of sons' shares of all fixed (one-fourteenth) and moveable property (one-eighth).<sup>73</sup> As in the case of the passport laws, the need for reform had been recognized for some time, back to the reign of Nicholas I. Both in the 1830s and the 1860s the issue was raised and then put aside. Again, the Women's Society's Suffrage Section initiated work on a legislative proposal that was presented to the Duma on February 3, 1909, by thirty-two Octobrist deputies. From there, the bill's fate resembled that of the passport law. During the Duma discussion of May 29, 1909, the Ministry of Justice representative Verevkin announced his department's support and requested time to rework the proposal. Duma members agreed. Almost a year later, the ministry submitted the revised proposal, which was reviewed by the judicial reform committee, discussed, and passed by the Duma on May 9, 1911, again with little opposition. Only the Trudovik Kropotov criticized the proposal for affecting primarily the aristocracy, since among the peasants the concept of individual inheritance did not apply.<sup>74</sup>

Once more, the State Council refused to accept the law as proposed, suggesting revisions retaining differences in the inheritance of rural property, although raising the daughter's share from one-fourteenth to one-seventh. The measure, no longer providing for equalization of inheritance rights and retaining the State Council changes, became law on June 3, 1912.<sup>75</sup> The process was slow with the in-

heritance and passport reforms, but other attempts to extend equal rights met with greater resistance. One of the most controversial involved attempts to admit women to the legal profession. This issue also had a long history. The judicial reforms of 1864, which created the Russian juridical profession, did not exclude women from legal practice. A May 25, 1874, law regulating the practice of private attorneys included no provision barring women. But then, in 1875, a Ministry of Justice circular specifically forbade women the right to practice in civil cases. The ministry based its ruling on a law of January 14, 1871, specifying the occupations open to women (teachers, midwives, feldshers, "vaccinators," and telephone operators) and those prohibited to them (the bureaucracy and all appointed or elected government and public positions). Nothing in the laws specifically mentioned legal practice but ministry bureaucrats ruled that the prohibition extended to private attorneys. Thus, in 1875 the ministry effectively closed civil practice to women. This ruling did not extend to criminal cases.<sup>76</sup>

Individual attempts to challenge the ban proved unsuccessful, but the issue drew more attention in early November 1909 when Ekaterina A. Fleishits appeared as a lawyer in a civil case and the judge refused to hear her. Russia's highest judicial body, the Senate, upheld the judge's ruling, amending the law to place women alongside minors and the insane as persons unable to plead civil cases.<sup>77</sup> Shortly thereafter, the Kadet Duma representative and lawyer Fedor I. Rodichev presented a proposal endorsed by a hundred other deputies to lift the limitations on female attorneys. The usual dilatory Duma and government procedure in these matters prevailed. On February 10, 1910, the proposal went to the committee on judicial reform, which delayed bringing it to the full Duma for eighteen months. Actual discussion of the proposal on the floor of the Duma took place from March 13 to 16 and May 23 and 24, 1912. A stormy debate ensued, with government representatives leading the opposition.<sup>78</sup>

Supporters of the bill rather disingenuously sought to downplay its connection to the woman question in general. The Kadet Chernosvitov, opening the debate and speaking for the judicial reform committee in support of the bill, claimed that "this little law neither as a whole or in part raises the woman question, and for this reason even the most ardent opponents of women's equal rights . . . should have nothing against this law." Then, raising the issue of equal rights, he argued that the entire Russian law code had nothing specifically forbidding women lawyers. If medicine was open to women, he asked, why not law?<sup>79</sup>

Verevkin, a Ministry of Justice spokesman, opposed the proposal with scatter-shot arguments that encompassed just about all the objections raised against women's rights and making little distinction between criminal law, which women

could practice, and civil cases, from which they were barred. He began with the practical, claiming that there were already enough lawyers, casting doubt on the quality of women's legal preparation, the lack of qualified women, that permitting women lawyers would open the door to their service in government and public institutions. Averting that anatomy was indeed destiny, the deputy minister opined that the practice of law was foreign to female nature. Using examples more relevant to criminal practice, Verevkin claimed that in court women would be exposed to "a terrible, ugly, dirty picture of human life [which] no woman, unless she has completely lost her womanliness and sense of shame," should seek. In addition, women lawyers had to visit jails, thus offending "their inherent sense of female modesty and other peculiarities of women's nature." And if this were not enough, most of the women who would qualify as lawyers were Jewish. Thus Jewish women would be at the forefront of undermining and challenging traditional gender roles. For all these reasons, concluded Verevkin, admitting women to civil practice was "premature" (*nesvoevremennyi*).<sup>80</sup>

Rightist and nationalist speakers who followed used essentially the same arguments, sprinkled liberally with anti-Semitism and appeals to timeless female qualities. To the nationalist Timoshkin, the very traits that made women good doctors made them terrible lawyers.<sup>81</sup> The Octobrists, continuing their move from indifference and hostility to limited support for women's rights, joined those further left in favoring the proposal. Only one Octobrist, Andronov, voted against.<sup>82</sup> Undeterred by rightist cries of "Suffragist!" the Octobrist leader Uvarov criticized the German kaiser's classic formulation of women's *Kinder, kirche, und küche* (children, church, and kitchen) role as "rather out-of-date."<sup>83</sup> And the industrialist Guchkov explained the Octobrist shift on women's rights, stating that although his party "did not declare for absolute equal rights for women in all areas of our political and public life," conditions had changed and "the time is ripe to grant women equal participation with us." Women, he continued, had "fully earned such rights." Finally, he saw no "barriers, except deep-rooted prejudice for which its advocates will in time be ashamed . . . to opening access to the legal profession to women."<sup>84</sup>

Octobrist support for admitting women to civil practice appeared to demonstrate further the growing consensus on women's rights within Russian educated society. Feminists took notice of this shift but also retained their suspicions about the depth of the Octobrist conversion. Writing in the *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar* in 1913, Luchinskaia attached particular significance to Guchkov's remarks and underscored the importance of "reminding" the Octobrists in the future of their stand.<sup>85</sup>

The coalition of center and left parties in the Duma won passage of the bill, and it went to a divided State Council. The council did not immediately act on the proposal, and in view of the rumored opposition of many members, feminist leaders lobbied those they considered potentially supportive for a favorable ruling. Save for the reactionary Minister of Education Kasso, the influential cabinet ministers, as ex officio council members, were supposedly sympathetic, but the final council vote on January 24, 1913, was eighty-four to sixty-six.<sup>86</sup> Minister of Justice Ivan Shcheglovitov led the opposition, asserting that judicial matters should not "be subordinated to the demands of feminism." Shcheglovitov, a firm supporter of the paternalistic power of the autocracy, had formerly expressed support for women's right to be lawyers. As part of the small Russian educated class, women could contribute to the immense task of applying the law code to a largely uneducated population. Shcheglovitov at that time argued that women's qualities, their "honesty, persistence, empathy, strong and lawful aspiration to independence—all this make of them an unquestionably useful, reasonable and valuable social entity. In what way is work as a jurist more difficult and inaccessible than work as a doctor or teacher?"<sup>87</sup>

Shcheglovitov headed the Justice Ministry from 1906 to 1915, showing "unusual political longevity" in the government of Nicholas II.<sup>88</sup> His opinion of the place of women in society definitively changed after the uncovering of an abortive assassination plot against him involving women students. Lidiia Sture and A. M. Shuliatikova, both members of the Socialist Revolutionaries' "Flying Fighting Detachment of the Northern Organization" and former students of the Bestuzhev women's courses, were arrested on February 7, 1908, speedily tried, and executed on February 17, 1908.<sup>89</sup> Before the State Council, in 1913, Shcheglovitov kept the essentialism of his earlier views but was now adamant about putting the genie of women's emancipation back in the bottle: "One of the chief tasks of the twentieth century . . . consists of keeping women in the sphere most suited to them—the family and the home." Commentators in *Zhenskoe delo* denounced the measure's opponents as a group of "elderly officials, announcing that the emancipation of women is the end of all life."<sup>90</sup> The minister's comments did not apply to female workers, servants, and peasants, all of whom routinely performed hard physical labor in and outside the home. The *Zhenskoe delo* commentators did not note this contradiction.

Shcheglovitov was no longer minister of justice by the time the last attempt to win women the right to practice civil law came before the State Council, but the final result was the same. Thirty-eight deputies, mostly Kadets, introduced a

measure in the Fourth Duma similar to that vetoed in 1913, along with a proposal to allow women to be jurors. The bill passed the Duma but again, in 1916, was rejected by the State Council, despite the fact that the war had led to a shortage of lawyers. Only after the February Revolution did women win equal rights to practice law.<sup>91</sup> Intensive lobbying led by the Women's League, including letters to Duma deputies objecting to delays in discussing the bill, had no effect except to induce women lawyers to organize themselves. Under the auspices of the League, committees of female lawyers formed in Moscow and St. Petersburg to aid in the lobbying efforts. On March 19, 1913, the charter of the Society of St. Petersburg Women Lawyers received approval. The organization's goal was defined as "the recognition of the rights of women lawyers through the promulgation of the appropriate law."<sup>92</sup>

Taking matters further into their own hands, women's groups started their own alternative legal services. In the fall of 1911 the Club of the Women's Progressive Party announced the establishment in St. Petersburg of an Information and Advice Committee designed to give women new to the city legal and other help in an attempt especially to avoid their being recruited as prostitutes. The Women's League also had a legal section, made up of law school graduates from Russian and foreign universities.<sup>93</sup> The most systematic attempt to provide legal services for St. Petersburg women was initiated by the Society for the Preservation of Women's Rights (Obshchestvo okhraneniia prav zhenshchin), a new group with connections through M. L. Vakhtina, one of its officers, to the Women's Progressive Party and its club. The society, the outgrowth of a suggestion made at the 1908 Women's Congress, opened five offices in the Russian capital to provide legal advice to needy women. Although society members sought especially to help poor women, few responded to their offers of aid. In the five months between December 1910 and April 1911, the society handled forty cases, mostly relating to the separation and support problems of married women, in addition to a few divorces.

Goals of the society's members, as described by Vakhtina, reflected the view that the role of educated women was to uplift the poor, to "train ignorant women to relate conscientiously to their responsibilities as mothers, wives, and childrearers, as well as in conscientious attitudes towards their jobs." In this way *intelligentki*, "eschewing any party affiliation, gradually . . . become the reasoned and cultural enlightener of the ignorant, unfortunate masses."<sup>94</sup> Formerly, such a view applied to traditional philanthropic ventures by privileged women. Vakhtina now appropriated that ideology, advocating the same role for educated women. Such a "matronizing" approach may explain much of the lack of response from poor women.

## Limited Suffrage and Equal Suffrage

Two women's suffrage proposals were presented to the Third Duma. Neither was successful, but both showed shifts by women's groups and by the center-liberal political parties on women's rights. One proposal was part of a bill on elections to regional representative bodies, the *volost zemstvos*; the other sought to enact equal, not universal, suffrage for women. Both bills showed that more feminists were now willing to fight for limited suffrage, as a wedge on the way to full suffrage for women. The *volost zemstvo* proposal, originally introduced by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was amended to include women as a result of lobbying by women's groups. The new proposal called for active and passive suffrage for women property owners in the *volost zemstvos* but stipulated that women could not be officeholders.<sup>95</sup>

Rightist opposition was predictable, with Duma deputy Novitskii shouting at one point: "And who will tend the geese?" The Trudoviks and Kadets supported the amendment but criticized the officeholding limitation. The Octobrists supported the ban on officeholding, again showing themselves firmly on the side of limited suffrage. Still, the Octobrist leader Prince Golitsyn, advocating the importance of women's right to vote, did not speak of limits when he placed women's rights firmly within the Russian tradition, associating it with a male modernizing monarch. Peter the Great, argued Golitsyn, "first proclaimed among us the principle of equality for women."<sup>96</sup> Once again, however, although the Duma did pass the *volost zemstvo* bill with the female suffrage provision intact, the State Council blocked change. A council committee excluded the amendment from the final version of the bill.

The second suffrage proposal, drawn up by the Women's League, simply stated that "persons of the female sex enjoy equal rights with men to choose and be chosen for the State Duma." Presented by the Trudovik Bulat to the Duma on February 15, 1912, it bore the signatures of a total of forty deputies, mostly Trudoviks and Kadets, but including three Octobrists as well as the Social Democrat Astrakahantsev.<sup>97</sup> This suffrage bill was the subject of some interesting correspondence within the Council of Ministers, showing the further hardening of opposition to women's suffrage and women's rights in general. Prime Minister Kokovtsev sent letters to the minister of the interior, A. A. Makarov, and to the minister of justice, Shcheglovitov, seeking their opinion of the proposal. Makarov replied with a short letter stating that from his perspective, the "granting of rights to women is not in accordance with the manners and morals of our state."<sup>98</sup>

The West was the benchmark for all sides in this debate. Shcheglovitov gave a detailed response, reflecting serious research and articulating the conservative opposition to suffrage by citing the antisuffrage views of Western liberals and revolutionaries. He began by noting the extremely modest progress made in enacting women's suffrage in the West. Only four U.S. states, New Zealand, most of Australia, Norway, and Finland had approved such laws. England and France, with their respective liberal and revolutionary traditions, were both hostile to the female vote. Even the leaders of the French Revolution had banned women's clubs and societies. And more recently, in France and Italy, those on the left feared that women would use the vote to support conservative candidates and the church.<sup>99</sup>

The argument that women might vote more conservatively than men did not sway Shcheglovitov, however. His two main objections to the female ballot resembled those he had made earlier against women lawyers. First, women's roles in the home precluded their exercising political rights: "For the majority of women there remains an extraordinarily significant real barrier to the realization of these rights, namely their duties as mothers of families and housewives."<sup>100</sup> Second, allowing women into the public sphere was fraught with dangers in Russia. In the West female suffrage might be a conservative force, but in Russia, where popular assemblies were in their infancy, women would be a radicalizing force, for women "by their very nature are inclined to passion, [and] could only encourage even more the development of political fervor, hindering the quiet and mature discussion of complex legislative matters." Furthermore, in Russia danger came from "the admiration of women for revolutionary ideals."<sup>101</sup> Thus women in general had to be kept in the private sphere, but Russian women were especially threatening.

On April 9, 1912, the Council of Ministers rejected the Bulat proposal. The message was clear: there would be no progress on women's suffrage under any tsarist government. In leading the opposition to women's rights, Shcheglovitov echoed views that in other countries spanned the political spectrum but in Russia by this time were largely confined to the extreme right.<sup>102</sup> Despite the defeat of suffrage proposals, the Third Duma did pass a number of bills extending women's rights. Laws granting women the right to serve on an equal basis with men in the Academy of Sciences; a law of December 19, 1911, certifying four women's higher courses as having curricula and degrees equivalent to those at the universities and providing the same examination, pension, and job rights for female and male teachers in middle schools; and a law permitting women to be teachers in the



lower levels of agricultural schools and permitting them to serve in the Ministry of Agriculture all passed.

At the same time there were setbacks, such as the 1910 statute specifically prohibiting women from attending the universities.<sup>103</sup> Two laws affected the majority of the female population, peasants and workers. An amendment to the workers' insurance act of 1912 allowed women to be chosen members of the committee overseeing the funds. And temperance advocates and feminists joined to lobby successfully for passage of a law giving women the right to participate in village meetings discussing the closing of establishments selling alcoholic beverages.<sup>104</sup>

If there was gain in the Third Duma, there was almost none in the Fourth. Women's groups joined the preelection lobbying. In the fall of 1912, *Zhenskoe delo* urged its readers to help influence the outcome, appealing to "mothers, wives, and sisters . . . [who] must influence their sons, husbands and fathers to give their votes to those candidates representing the progressive democratic parties."<sup>105</sup> The election results were mixed. The Kadets added 5 more seats, for a total of 59. The Progressive Party won a total of 48 seats. The Octobrists lost ground, dropping from 154 to 121 seats. Although the greatest gains were made by the rightist parties, the possibility of some feminist advances through a Kadet-Progressive-Octobrist coalition raised modest hopes.<sup>106</sup>

Two proposals pertaining to women's suffrage were presented to the initial session of the Fourth Duma, which convened on November 15, 1912. The first, introduced on December 3, 1912, by the Kadets, was part of a package of proposals planned for introduction to the Second Duma and aimed at implementing basic civil rights and civil liberties in Russia. They seemed even more important in 1912, a time of revived civic and political activity, resembling, to Miliukov, the "pre-Revolutionary mood."<sup>107</sup> Kadet tactics in the Fourth Duma aimed to magnify the differences between the Octobrists and the far right. They succeeded with their bills on freedom of the press, and freedom of conscience, association, and assembly, which were accepted by the Duma as "desirable" and sent to a committee for reworking.<sup>108</sup>

"Gentlemen, it is our turn, it is Russia's turn." With these words Paul Miliukov introduced the last women's suffrage proposal submitted to the Duma. Miliukov presented the bill for the Kadets on February 27, 1913, a date sandwiched between evidence of the new (ten days after the first International Women's Day celebrations in Russia) and a reminder of the old (just days after the commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanov dynasty). The suffrage proposal

was based on the seven-part formula (universal, direct, equal, and secret without regard to sex, nationality, and religion), although it retained the categories of active and passive suffrage.<sup>109</sup> As he wrote later, Miliukov defended universal suffrage "all-out," taking a leading part in the debates on March 8 and 13, 1913, and fully supporting women's suffrage. Noting that Finland, Norway, and most recently Denmark had legalized votes for women, Miliukov sought to place Russia "also in the ranks of these northern countries."<sup>110</sup> Women's participation, especially their "agitation" on the questions of education, alcoholism, unemployment and housing, he argued, were essential to the development of democracy.<sup>111</sup> Finally, he, like Shcheglovitov, had read the literature. Miliukov cited the Austrian feminist Berta von Suttner, whose ideas about the fight for the female vote could have applied to him. To Suttner, every "ideological movement" has three stages: "In the first, people laugh at you, in the second, they begin to fight you, and finally they show you that you are forcing your way through an open door." Women's suffrage was between the first and second stages: "They are not only laughing but beginning to fight."<sup>112</sup>

Miliukov had one more opportunity to show his about-face on votes for women. Unlike the First and Second Duma, when many delegates spoke against the female vote, only one speaker in 1913, Father Filonenko, focused on female suffrage. Filonenko rehashed the argument used by Miliukov at the first two Kadet congresses in 1905 and 1906: that peasant women were not ready to vote and that peasant men would laugh at such a notion.<sup>113</sup> Now, Miliukov replied differently, rejecting the notion that male peasant opinion should be decisive, or that such views were limited to the peasantry. "It is clear," he argued, "that not only peasants are infected with these prejudices. . . . But we cannot adopt the peasant worldview everywhere and in all details, even when it is based on ignorance and prejudice . . . we must fight against this in the villages, as everywhere." Peasant women, concluded Miliukov, were clearly qualified to participate in political matters and had already shown this in many different spheres of peasant life.<sup>114</sup>

The Kadet leader failed to mention that the Peasant Union and the Trudoviks, the leading peasant party, had led the fight for women's suffrage in the first two Dumas and had been the most consistent advocates for women's rights throughout all the sessions of the Duma. While Miliukov and other Kadets hesitated, often citing peasant backwardness, the members of the largest peasant party had introduced and fought for equal rights. Again, in the Fourth Duma, the Trudovik, Labor, and Social Democratic representatives submitted a more comprehensive bill on January 30, 1913, advocating universal voting on the basis of the full seven-

part formula, without the distinctions of active and passive suffrage. But this bill was never considered by the Fourth Duma.<sup>115</sup>

Was Miliukov's move pure political expediency, and if so, what explains his timing? Was his proposal simply, as the historian Richard Stites has argued, "an anticlimax," a cynical ploy for a cause doomed to defeat in the conservative Duma? Had he lost the need for peasant allies, as the scholar Linda Edmondson has suggested? Did his wife's passionate feminism wear him down, or did this reflect their reconciliation? In Miliukov's voluminous writings, he gives few clues as to his motivation. He devotes two sentences to the Fourth Duma debate in his memoirs (*Vospominaniia*). He shared the stereotypes of his time, dismissing Tyrkova's "lady's logic" (*damskie rassuzhdeniia*) not long before. Maria Pokrovskaiia, noting that Miliukov had recently "announced in the St. Petersburg women's club that women's rights were dependent on men's rights," found his turnabout "astonishing."<sup>116</sup>

With the possibilities for change severely limited by the government's repressive policies, Miliukov sought to articulate an alternate model, one of democratic governance. Women's rights were now part of his vision of Russia's modernization and transformation. To counter the intransigence of the autocracy, he cited the examples not of England and France, but of the nearby northern European countries—all of which had granted women some suffrage rights. If male peasants and others were "infected" by prejudice, this must be combated, not accepted.<sup>117</sup> With Miliukov's change, no prominent liberal or left leader remained who opposed equal rights. Still, the women's rights consensus further to the right remained limited. If Miliukov's position on votes for women had shifted, the Octobrist position on universal suffrage had not. Both Sergei Shidlovskii and Pavel Iagodynskii, leader of the party fraction, spoke about the inability of the majority of Russians, particularly the peasants, to assume political responsibilities. To Shidlovskii, the Kadets had introduced the slogan of universal suffrage merely to provoke the Duma into a public position on the existing electoral laws. Although the Octobrists objected strongly to the principle of universal suffrage, they had no objection in principle to women's suffrage—they did not distinguish between the sexes, considering the masses as a whole unfit. Shidlovskii commented snidely: "Both sexes of the population, one sex—it makes no difference to me."<sup>118</sup> Their opposition proved crucial, as Octobrist and rightist deputies combined to defeat the Kadet proposal by a vote of 206 to 106. A suggestion to form a committee to review the election laws also failed.<sup>119</sup> This was the last women's suffrage proposal to be debated in the Duma.

## Congresses: Keeping the Message Alive

Aside from supporting the various suffrage bills and equal rights bills in the Duma, the feminists continued their activities in other arenas. Since 1908, feminists had used congresses to call attention to women's issues. "Congresses . . . Congresses . . . Congresses!" wrote one observer, as these assemblies became popular vehicles in this period for publicizing significant social concerns and the message of the democratic opposition to the autocracy. Access to education was one of the oldest of Russian feminist causes. Now the issue and the organizing principle joined in the Women's League decision to call the First All-Russian Congress on Women's Education (*Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin*), to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the first women's higher courses. As usual, obtaining official permission to hold the congress proved difficult, but the assembly was finally scheduled almost exactly four years after the 1908 Women's Congress, from December 26, 1912, to January 4, 1913.<sup>120</sup>

Parallels to the first Women's Congress did not stop there. Of the members of the organizing committee, all had attended the 1908 meeting. Shchepkina, Kal'manovich, and Ruttsen had served on the 1908 congress's organizing committee. The remaining members of the 1912 committee were E. F. Bagaeva, founder of the St. Petersburg Women's Architecture Courses; longtime Women's Society activist Ekaterina Gardner; and St. Petersburg Women's League president Shishkina-lavein.<sup>121</sup> The call to the Education Congress emphasized the continuity with 1908, claiming that it would address "the practical resolution of some questions emphasized by the first Women's Congress."<sup>122</sup> The format was the same—an opening session at the St. Petersburg City Duma, talks, discussions, resolutions, and police surveillance.

Seeking to avoid the conflicts that arose at the 1908 congress, the organizing committee banned participation by a workers' group and did their own censoring of all talks. The changed atmosphere and the activities of the organizing committee combined to produce a minimum of discord. Attendance, at 1,115, was a bit higher than at the 1908 congress. Despite the presence of the police, the tone of the Education Congress was clearly oppositional. Unlike the 1908 congress, however, the delegates united against the government rather than against each other. Demonstrating again that the barriers between socialists and feminists were much more fluid and permeable than is usually portrayed, workers and members of the socialist parties did attend the Education Congress. The Bolshevik Kudelli spoke

about workers' education societies in St. Petersburg. A talk by Kuskova on the surveillance of students outside of school led the congress to pass a strongly worded resolution condemning this practice. Mirovich, Chekhova, and Tyrkova also spoke at the congress.<sup>123</sup>

Other resolutions passed by the 1912 congress included a call for more government expenditures on education, autonomy for all educational institutions, the establishment of a uniform curriculum for all schools, an emphasis on academic rather than vocational training in the upper-level schools, the elimination of all nationality restrictions, and full freedom for educational organizations outside the schools. To put these into effect, the congress recommended extending the budgetary rights of the Duma, establishing truly democratic popular representation, and enacting the appropriate legislation.<sup>124</sup> These resolutions represented the hopes of the delegates, not the reality of an increasingly repressive Russia. Underlining the existing power relationships, a few days after the congress had adjourned, the St. Petersburg superintendent of schools issued a circular threatening the closing of all private schools. Such schools were the centers of educational innovation in prerevolutionary Russia.<sup>125</sup>

But threats to close schools could not change the reality of the growth of women's education. Despite the continuing fear among tsarist officials that "a potential assassin lurked within every *studentka*," Russian women eagerly sought more learning. In the ten years between the 1905 revolution and the first full year of World War I, the number of women's higher education institutions grew from eight to thirty, and the students who attended them grew from fifty-five hundred to more than forty-four thousand. Efforts to turn back the clock foundered in the face of strong public pressures. Thus, although tsarist officials barred women from universities in 1908, by 1913 the government relented and admitted women students.<sup>126</sup>

One of the most interesting exchanges resulting from the 1912 congress involved questions of sexuality and the "new woman," and showed the ambivalence of leading Russian feminists, mostly middle-aged, to the social and cultural changes that in their view both freed and entrapped women.<sup>127</sup> Tyrkova sparked this exchange with a talk entitled "The Change in Female Psychology in the Last Century." Changing economic conditions, to Tyrkova, were responsible for creating the "new woman." But while such conditions produced the free, intellectual, creative woman, they also produced her opposite. This woman, charged Tyrkova, emulated decadent male culture by being "greedy and terrible, cultivating not an

ideological but a predatory attitude toward life." To Tyrkova, the struggle between these two types of women had immense potential significance: "Perhaps the future of our culture depends on which woman is victorious." Thus, solving the "woman question" depended not only on the elimination of outward forms of discrimination imposed by men, but on women's self-discipline, in rejecting the powerful force of "that diabolical lust of outward freedom . . . which has introduced amidst women a new form of life."<sup>128</sup> Tyrkova's talk sufficiently aroused the police that they prohibited discussion of it at the congress. Her sentiments provoked controversy among feminists as well. A writer in *Zhenskoe delo* criticized Tyrkova for her "narrow moralizing tendency."<sup>129</sup>

Tyrkova's talk reflected the ongoing debate among feminists about the "sex question" (*polovoi vopros*). Most feminists did not approve of the kind of sexual pseudo-liberation described in such books as Mikhail Artsybashev's *Sanin*, which had caused a sensation when it appeared in 1907. Filosofova was sufficiently alarmed to have convened a number of gatherings at her home to discuss the novel. In her view Artsybashev had "slandered modern youth"; the success of *Sanin* was a "dangerous social phenomenon."<sup>130</sup> Those feminists who explicitly criticized the sexual double standard and marital strictures were especially careful to distinguish their views from promiscuity. Advocates of free love, such as Vakhtina, envisioned not multiple sexual liaisons but equal monogamous partnerships unsullied by the hypocrisy of prevailing religious and societal standards.<sup>131</sup> Pokrovskaia was especially sensitive about the misrepresentation of her views. After the appearance of her book *O polovom vospitaniia i samovospitaniia* (On sex education and self-education), she sued the editor of the conservative daily *Novoe vremia* for publishing a review article claiming she advocated promiscuity.<sup>132</sup>

Pokrovskaia's *Zhenskii vestnik* served as the forum for lively discussions about sex. Pokrovskaia often articulated a radical feminist view of sexuality in many *Zhenskii vestnik* articles. Writing in 1910, she traced the perceived difference in female and male sexuality to the repression of women: "The sex drive is normal for both men and women. I believe that it is equally strong in both sexes. . . . Socialization and social opinion strongly demanded of women the bridling of their sexual instinct, while allowing men full freedom. Over millennia this cruel repression ruled women and created that difference which is now brought forth in defense of men's lack of restraint."<sup>133</sup> Unlike Tyrkova, Pokrovskaia did not blame those "new women" who had thrown off the bonds of sexual restraint and behaved like men, for "under the existing moral code . . . we cannot criticize women who . . .

are fascinated by physical love."<sup>134</sup> The "new women" mistakenly sought the same sexual freedom as men. But Pokrovskaiia advocated the opposite. Unbridled sex was not the answer. Women had learned "to curb their sexual instinct"; men should learn it too. The path to healthy sexuality began with educating children. The early teaching of "healthy sexual expression will destroy all sexual perversion, in which this society is so rich."<sup>135</sup>

Was Pokrovskaiia herself antisex? Edmondson has argued that "in her innermost soul, she [Pokrovskaiia] wished sex did not exist, but as it did, she wished it to be wholesome, honest, and productive of healthy issue." Delving into anyone's "innermost soul" is at best speculative. We know little about Pokrovskaiia's personal life. She lived alone and probably never married. Was her approval of a healthy sex drive merely theoretical? It is easy to stereotype Pokrovskaiia, who appears to be the embodiment of what the historian Laura Engelstein has called "the unfeminine, nonprocreative, but politically active woman." Engelstein also notes that, to two very different authoritative male writers about Russian sexuality, Vasilii Rozanov and Leo Tolstoy, women like Pokrovskaiia "represented the moral peril of public existence" and aroused in both and many others "fascination and . . . fear."<sup>136</sup> Pokrovskaiia does not appear to have had a heterosexual relationship. Perhaps she was celibate or perhaps a lesbian. This is no less plausible than arguing that sex was either purely theoretical or just an annoying nuisance to Pokrovskaiia.<sup>137</sup>

### The Feminists Address the Issue of Prostitution

The commercialization of sex through prostitution attracted the most feminist attention. Conditions in the early twentieth century in Russia, including increasing industrialization and the concomitant large-scale migration to urban areas, had led to a marked increase in the incidence of prostitution. Domestic servants, factory workers, and new migrants to the cities were often forced by high unemployment and low wages into prostitution, some temporarily and some permanently. Employers were quite aware that a large labor pool of potential workers left female workers with few options. When women at the La Ferme tobacco factory sought a wage hike, the owners replied: "If you think the salaries are too low, you can become streetwalkers."<sup>138</sup> Some of the feminist concern with prostitution came from personal experience. No doubt some women had husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers who patronized prostitutes. It was common for wealthy men to have

mistresses and/or to have their first sexual experiences with servants. Prostitution was legal and widespread; customers were openly solicited on the streets. The registration system could be used to entrap other women. Single women walking unescorted at night could be mistaken for prostitutes and registered as such. Pokrovskaiia once narrowly escaped such sexual profiling herself. Even if there were not this kind of direct personal contact, many feminists were physicians and had seen countless examples of the ravages of venereal disease.<sup>139</sup>

Within the women's movement, there were three approaches to prostitution. The first, and oldest, was philanthropic, seeking to save the "fallen women" by establishing shelters for them—the homes for Magdelenes that Kollontai and others had scorned—and preventing other women from falling into the trap. The second approach advocated eliminating the registration system. The third approach totally subordinated the campaign against prostitution to the cause of women's rights; advocates of this approach argued that only through the attainment of equal rights could any real change occur.<sup>140</sup>

The activities of the Russian Society for the Defense of Women (*Rossiiskoe obshchestvo zashchity zhenshchin*) are representative of the first approach. The society was typical of those philanthropic organizations established to combat "social evils" that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Founded in 1900 in the aftermath of the 1899 London Congress against the White Slave Trade by a group of government officials, high society women, and members of the titled nobility, the society's officers and governing board reflected its origins. Princess Evgeniia Ol'denburgskaia was its honorary president; Princess Elena Saksen-Al'tenburgskaia served as president. The organization's governing board included representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs, Justice, Trade, and Industry. The society's charter initially emphasized the involuntary nature of prostitution, stating its goals as "protecting girls and women from the danger of being drawn into depravity and the return of already fallen women to honest lives."<sup>141</sup> As the historian of Russian prostitution Laurie Bernstein has noted, such an explanation, favored by conservatives, "eliminated the prostitutes' conscious involvement in their trade."<sup>142</sup>

The Russian Society for the Defense of Women sought to accomplish its objectives through the establishment of shelters, the distribution of information about women lured into prostitution, the opening of offices in seaports and industrial centers, and the distribution of propaganda with a "healthy understanding of morality and the harm of debauchery."<sup>143</sup> In time the society's emphasis on saving "fallen women" shifted to more concern with preventive measures; the



organization expanded the definition of its activities to include help to women "in all the difficult moments of their lives." By 1913 there were society branches in seven cities besides St. Petersburg, including Moscow, Kiev, Vilna, Minsk, Odessa, Sebastopol, and Rostov-na-Donu. In the capital, where it had the greatest membership and resources, the organization's activities were divided into five sections. The Prevention Section (*Otdel preduprezhdeniia*) provided cheap dining facilities, dormitories for women seeking employment, and private rooms for "educated women." To stop procurers from nabbing unsuspecting women migrating to the cities, society members met late-night trains. The Investigation Section (*Otdel rassledovaniia*) sought to help "young women and girls temporarily finding themselves in difficult material circumstances," either by finding them jobs as servants or salesclerks, giving them money for food, lodging, or clothing, or renting them sewing machines. The Struggle Against the Enticement of Women into Depravity Section (*Otdel bor'by s vovlecheniem zhenshchin v razvrat*) collected information and sought to prosecute pimps and others luring women into prostitution. The Juridical Section provided legal information and guidance to those who needed it.<sup>144</sup>

The separate section for Jewish women (*Otdel popecheniia o evreiskikh devushkakh*), headed by Baroness Ginzburg, from the highest-ranking and most prominent Jewish family in Russia, had the largest membership of any of the sections. This reflected the substantial number of Jews involved—as prostitutes, pimps, and brothel owners—in this trade. This section sought to help Jewish prostitutes by holding gatherings on Saturday (drawing an average attendance of almost 150), providing medical help and setting up a library, in addition to offering dining, dormitory, and employment assistance.<sup>145</sup>

Though well-intentioned, the work of organizations such as the Society for the Defense of Women had a limited effect. With its well-entrenched establishment leadership, the group was hardly inclined to promote the restructuring of society necessary to eliminate the economic or social conditions driving many women to prostitution. Although it probably helped hundreds of women, the society simply did not have the resources or ability to help the thirty thousand to fifty thousand prostitutes estimated to be in St. Petersburg, much less in the rest of the Russian Empire.<sup>146</sup> The organization's efforts were further handicapped by its philosophy of philanthropy. The notion that prostitutes were "fallen women" who needed to be saved typified the approach of many in the Russian privileged classes. As the social scientist Bernice Madison has observed, changing the notion of societal responsibility "from 'charity' given the 'deserving' out of pity . . . [to]

the notion that the individual might have a right to assistance simply was not seriously considered."<sup>147</sup>

The society did get involved in one successful legislative effort, but this too shows the limits of its approach. A bill punishing persons benefiting from prostitution passed the Third Duma, survived the State Council, and became law in 1909. But it did not address the registration system, which in effect sanctioned the selling of women's bodies.<sup>148</sup> The most successful society effort to call attention to the issue of prostitution proved to be the First All-Russian Congress against the Trade in Women (*Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami*), held in St. Petersburg from April 21 through 25, 1910. A coalition of philanthropic women's groups and feminist organizations sponsored the congress. These ranged from the League for Women's Equal Rights, the Russian Women's Society, and the St. Petersburg Club of the Women's Progressive Party, to the Society for Help to Women-Doctors, and the Society for the Care of Young Girls.<sup>149</sup>

The congress attracted several hundred people, mostly women. Pokrovskaiia in *Zhenskii vestnik* remarked that representatives of the medical and legal professions, the universities, and local government were noticeably absent. The police, however, were very present. Mirovich noted that the police stopped any discussion in which "the question of prostitution was discussed in a wider context, in connection with the social-political conditions of the country." Prostitution's horrors were again recounted and, according to Mirovich, the talks led all at the congress to agree that "it was necessary to change the economic conditions enslaving women and often turning them into prostitutes." Given the circumstances, this was not spelled out in greater detail.<sup>150</sup>

Before the congress, representatives of women's rights groups agreed to press for four demands: the abolition of regulation, the closing of houses and "other indecent haunts," making it a crime to use pimps or be a pimp, and full equal rights for women.<sup>151</sup> At the congress the second and third points won easy endorsement. Although there was some resistance to the call for prompt abolition of regulation, a declaration presented by nine women's organizations demanding a petition to the government calling for the immediate end of the police-medical inspection system received almost unanimous approval.<sup>152</sup> The equal rights call aroused the most controversy, pitting the philanthropists against the feminists. Tyrkova, Kal'manovich, and Mirovich argued that suffrage was "the only means for women to gain an improvement in their economic and political position," that suffrage was the key to the elimination of prostitution. Antisuffragists challenged this notion, expressing the fear that the political emancipation of women would

achieve the opposite results. Women, they argued, would understand freedom as the absence of moral curbs and would aspire not to raise the moral level of men but to lower themselves to the male level.<sup>153</sup>

Some suffrage advocates went further in their analysis of prostitution. Soon after the congress, "Zosia," writing in *Zhenskoe delo*, argued that bourgeois marriage was just another form of prostitution, arising from the same economic factors as those that forced poorer women to become streetwalkers. Bourgeois women, wrote "Zosia," were raised only for marriage, without the knowledge or skills for anything else. Bourgeois parents "don't think to equip her with the knowledge suitable for the struggle for survival. Helpless, dependent, they hand her over to her husband. From that moment, he provides for her; that is, he pays for her love."<sup>154</sup> Using an argument similar to that of the U.S. feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Zosia" asserted that society cultivated the sex instinct in females as "her strongest, almost her only weapon in the struggle for survival."<sup>155</sup> Unlike Pokrovskaja, "Zosia" rejected the notion that women had a higher morality. Indeed, she argued, notions of the "existence of a specific women's honor, women's virtue, women's sexual morality, is a clear indication of women's enslavement." But, agreeing with Pokrovskaja and other feminists, "Zosia" viewed the solution to the economic problem in political terms, in political and legal equality, which will grant each woman "free access to all areas of work and learning and the result will be—her full economic independence."<sup>156</sup>

Socialist commentators had a different analysis. From her German exile, Kollontai criticized the 1910 congress for failing to place sufficient stress on the importance of economic factors in the development of prostitution. She found the timidity of the Society for the Defense of Women unsurprising. Comparing Russia with Germany, she asserted that class unity destroys the breeding ground for prostitution, which "does not take root in those places where . . . the struggle for common interests unites both sexes on the basis of comradeship and solidarity."<sup>157</sup>

The congress on prostitution achieved little in the way of immediate results, but it did give extra impetus to the drive to abolish the regulation of prostitution. Of the feminists the most persistent critic of the registration system was Pokrovskaja. She wrote a number of pamphlets, one a direct attack on the *nadzor* (inspection), entitled "The Medical-Police Inspection of Prostitutes Aids the Degeneration of the Masses"; used *Zhenskii vestnik* as a platform for her crusade; contributed articles to other journals; made countless speeches; and initiated petitions by the Women's Progressive Party and its club.<sup>158</sup> In her single-minded focus on bettering the lives of women, Pokrovskaja appeared oblivious to criticism and

satire, such as that in A. I. Kuprin's *The Pit* (Yama), where women doctors cry, "Ach, regulation! Ach, abolitionism! Ach, live goods! Serfdom! The madams, those greedy *heteirae*! Those vile degenerates, sucking the blood of prostitutes!"<sup>159</sup>

It was not Pokrovskaia but another feminist physician who was finally able to arrange the introduction in the Duma of a bill calling for the abolition of the registration system. Shishkina-Iavein had also researched the inspection system and prostitution. On March 8, 1913 (International Women's Day), she proposed to the League Council that an abolition bill be introduced by those Duma deputies who were physicians. The council endorsed Shishkina-Iavein's proposal; she subsequently sought help from the medical societies. Her ideas were received warmly by the Moscow Pirogov Society's special committee studying the prostitution laws. But she and Pokrovskaia were rebuffed when they sought to speak at the upcoming St. Petersburg Pirogov Society Congress.<sup>160</sup> Stymied, Shishkina-Iavein and other League members resolved to draft their own proposal and approach Duma deputies themselves. The final draft of the bill resulted from collaboration between Shishkina-Iavein, the League Committee on Prostitution, and the Kadet Duma deputy and physician Shingarev.<sup>161</sup>

Presented on October 18, 1913, the measure bore the signatures of all but two doctor Duma deputies. The introduction to the proposal noted that Russian law actually prohibited prostitution, but that despite this, "houses of prostitution are, by later orders of the government, allowed to operate, and prostitution itself is even regulated by special rules and conditions, in many cases by the issuance of administrative orders."<sup>162</sup> The bill advocated the strict prohibition of prostitution, abolition of the regulation system, jail terms for offenders, and the establishment of organized measures to fight against venereal disease in cooperation with local governments.<sup>163</sup> Once the measure was introduced, it received the support of the Club of the Women's Progressive Party, the Society for Mutual Aid to Women Doctors, and the Kiev branch of the Society for the Defense of Women. The society split on support for the bill. When the League asked the St. Petersburg branch of the society for its endorsement, its vice-president, State Secretary Saburov, demurred. In principle, the society sympathized with the League bill, stated Saburov, but it wanted to speak out independently on the issue of regulation. There is no record that the society ever did speak out strongly for abolition. But as could be expected, the Shingarev-League effort did not fare well in the Duma. Only after the February Revolution was the registration system abolished.<sup>164</sup>

Much of the focus of feminist legislative activity in this period did not touch the lives of women workers. Proposals on inheritance, or women's access to the

universities, or the right to practice law were foreign to the lives of the masses of women in the factories, in domestic service, or in the fields. The Women's League did lobby for one measure directly affecting women workers—the introduction of female factory inspectors. An old demand of socialist and workers' groups, this was one cause that feminists and socialists could join in endorsing.

A resolution supporting the factory inspector reform passed at the Education Congress spurred further action. The feminist physician L. Gorovits, a member of the Moscow League, spearheaded the drive. She spoke about the issue at the Education Congress, worked with other League members to draft a legislative proposal, and together with them arranged to have the Progressive deputy M. M. Novikov introduce a bill in the Duma, supported by thirty-two other deputies, on February 13, 1913.<sup>165</sup> At the Duma debate on April 24, 1913, Litvinov-Falinskii spoke for the government against the bill, arguing that inspectors needed complex technical education and were responsible for large geographical areas. This, he claimed, made the job of factory inspector impractical for women. Instead, he proposed that women be allowed to serve as assistants to male factory inspectors. Presumably, none of the factors precluding women's work as full inspectors would affect their acting as assistant inspectors.<sup>166</sup> The bill had the solid support of left and liberal deputies; the Bolsheviks Novikov and Roman Malinovskii, leader of the party's Duma fraction, spoke for the bill. It garnered enough support from the Octobrists to win approval as "desirable" and be sent to the committee on the workers' question for redrafting.<sup>167</sup> Finally passed by the Duma on June 20, 1916, it was due to be implemented on January 1, 1917.<sup>168</sup>

### Feminists, Socialists, and Women Workers

Though the socialists paid lip service to the demands of women and included planks on maternity leave, protective legislation, and women's suffrage in their programs, their efforts had been concentrated on male workers. Partially this was due to insensitivity and lack of consciousness. Organizers, male and female, often failed to be alert to the particular problems of working women and male workers' wives. In a rare Soviet history discussing outreach to women, Lenin is portrayed as chastising the female Bolshevik M. M. Essen after she complained that male workers' wives often failed to be receptive to her efforts. In words similar to those used in 1905 by Pokrovskaiia, the Bolshevik leader commented: "If I were one of those wives I would have thrown you out of the apartment! Have you ever

thought about the difficult lives of these women, burdened with factory work, housework and child care, worried about the fate of their husband, if he lands in jail?" Lenin advised Essen and her comrades to "understand the reality" of the women they sought to organize "and find the right words and deeds in order to win over these women."<sup>169</sup>

But socialists such as Kollontai, who sought to pay particular attention to women workers, including advocating separate organizing directed at them, continued to face severe criticism as feminists seeking to split the working-class movement. Opponents of this approach, both men and women, argued that the female proletariat was, as workers' group member O. I. Dubrovina noted at the 1908 Women's Congress, "backward," timid, or fearful, and that the only way to overcome this was to participate in organizations with male workers.<sup>170</sup> Despite the opposition, separate organizations for women workers were established. It is in these groups that socialists and feminists appear to have had the most contact. While conflicts did arise, these groups also offer examples of ways in which the boundaries between feminists and socialists proved particularly fluid. Indeed, this is another area where the alleged split between feminists and socialists is much less clear-cut than has been portrayed by Soviet and Western historians.

The first socialist-sponsored club for the female proletariat opened in St. Petersburg in 1907, near the headquarters of the Textile Workers Union. Using an innocuously philanthropic name that fit within the rubric of female-focused activities approved by the government, the Working Women's Mutual Aid Society (Obshchestvo vzaimopomoshchi rabotnits) won approval of its charter fairly quickly, in a month and a half. Its organizers included both Kollontai, then a Menshevik, and a group of women workers. Its activities included lectures and a library; it was open every night and had between two hundred to three hundred members. The Mutual Aid Society deliberately did not identify with either of the social democratic factions. Both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks came to its functions; Vera Zasulich attended its first meeting. But all was not smooth. In the spring of 1908 factional infighting almost destroyed the club. One group sought to bar all *intelligentki* from membership; another criticized the club's separatism and charged it with "feminist deviation." At that point Kollontai dropped out and at the end of the year fled into exile. Nevertheless, the club continued its activities until 1913, when it was closed by the police. Many of its members were then forced to leave St. Petersburg.<sup>171</sup>

From 1912, as a result of a general rise in labor activism, including a wave of strike activity by women workers and the fear of feminist organizing among prole-

tarian women, socialist attention to women as a distinct group became more pronounced.<sup>172</sup> This took a number of forms, including opening more clubs, celebrations of International Women's Day, and the inauguration of two journals specifically for women workers. As with the Working Women's Mutual Aid Society, clubs had already proven a good focus for socialist and feminist activity. At a time of increased repression, they provided a legal forum for introducing socialist and feminist ideas to workers and for recruiting activists. One of the most successful of these clubs was Moscow's Third Women's Club. Again, the organization and operation of this club indicates the boundaries between feminists and some socialists in this period. In 1912 a group of *intelligentki* in Moscow, probably feminists, founded and secured charter approval for the Third Women's Club.

According to the Soviet version, this group approached other *intelligentki*, who turned out to be Bolshevik sympathizers, for ideas on attracting members and possible club activities. The Bolshevik women—Z. P. Krzhizhanovskaia, S. P. Nevzorova-Shesterina, A. A. Dodonova, E. I. Piskunova, and A. V. Pomerants—suggested that a new election of the governing board would be a way to attract more members.<sup>173</sup> The suggestion was accepted, the Bolshevik women put up notices at all the local factories announcing the opening of a workers' club, and, according to a Bolshevik eyewitness, the "workers came out in such numbers that the liberal club founders were horrified and left."<sup>174</sup>

Though the group retained the name of the Third Women's Club, specifically sought to recruit women, and had female officers, more than half of its members were men. In the thirteen months of its existence, the club's location changed three times; despite this, membership grew to between eight hundred and nine hundred people. A number of factors account for the club's appeal. The club could legally operate; a visit to the club did not inherently involve the risk of arrest. It was open every night and had a varied menu of activities, including concerts, plays, and lectures, especially appealing to workers and *intelligently* seeking to escape crowded dormitories and apartments. The club served as a relatively safe venue for riskier activities as well. According to eyewitnesses, the club hosted lively political discussions. Club devotees were far from homogeneous; one member, Tikhomirova, remembered heated arguments between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, which helped politicize many of the women. Some workers went directly from the clubs to underground work.<sup>175</sup> Such debates often lasted for hours, continuing on the way home. A man active in the club remembered: "We divided up by district into groups of two or three. Many lived far from the club and the whole way there bitter arguments continued. Some loved arguments so much that they

first escorted one group, then another, and in that way made the rounds of almost all of Moscow. After these jaunts they went straight off to work."<sup>176</sup>

No gathering of workers or socialists could go unnoticed by the police for too long, however. On one night in 1913, the police surrounded the club, wrote down the names of everyone they found there, and sent seven to the Butyrki prison.<sup>177</sup> Hostility to feminism, especially fueled in Russia by Kollontai and her writings, remained strong among women on the left. In 1914 the St. Petersburg left student newspaper *Student Years* (Studentcheskie gody) opened its pages to a debate about the woman question after the publication of A. Poliashcheva's article, "The Woman Question at the St. Petersburg Higher Women's Courses." Poliashcheva enthusiastically described a feminist study group created the year before at the Bestuzhev women's courses. The group's members delved into the history of the women's movement in Russia and other countries and advocated for women's equal rights among their peers. To Poliashcheva's dismay, many of her sister students were apathetic or hostile. Their responses included comments like "Russian suffragettes? Have they broken any windows yet?" and accusations that they were "man-haters." Poliashcheva interpreted such ripostes as evidence of a fear of feminism. Yet at the same time she distanced herself from the "militant" English feminists.

The editors of *Student Years* felt it necessary to state their "principled disagreement" with Poliashcheva's perspective. Responses to the article appeared near International Women's Day and emphasized that only socialism could truly liberate women. As the debate evolved, no one defended Poliashcheva. The *Student Years* discussion shows both that a feminist subculture did exist at the Bestuzhev women's courses and that socialist propaganda against feminism had its effect among *intelligentki*. Poliashcheva's generation had benefited from the efforts of the early Russian feminists. But for many the "woman question" no longer seemed radical, or else social questions did not interest them.<sup>178</sup>

## International Women's Day

International Women's Day celebrations illustrated the tension within the socialist movement in the face of the growing militancy of women workers and the fear of feminism as a competing organizing force. It also underlines how the oft-portrayed impermeable barrier between feminists and socialists was indeed quite permeable. The initiators of the holiday were driven by two phenomena: the success of the feminist message among women workers, and the resistance of



male socialists to extending votes to women. Suffrage, the chief goal of the feminist movement, was central to the creation of the holiday. This key element is invisible or downplayed in many subsequent accounts of the origins of the holiday.

Angered at those male socialists, especially the Austrians, who omitted mention of women's suffrage in their party platform, the German socialist feminist Clara Zetkin first proposed a targeted holiday at the women's conference of the Second International in Copenhagen on August 26, 1910. Zetkin strongly supported women's suffrage, viewing it as a democratic reform advantageous to the proletariat. The holiday had its origins in the United States, in the proclamation in 1909 of a National Woman's Day. While this was one element in its creation, international and national feminist meetings and congresses such as the 1908 congress in St. Petersburg and their appeal to working women also were significant factors.<sup>179</sup>

Zetkin proposed to the Copenhagen conference that International Women's Day be celebrated worldwide around the slogan of "universal suffrage." In naming the celebration, Zetkin used the word "women," not "women workers," acknowledging that women were a separate organizing category. Giving a socialist slant to the main feminist cause of the time, she proclaimed: "The vote for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism."<sup>180</sup> The only Russian woman delegate to the Copenhagen congress was Kollontai, then in German exile. Close to Zetkin and deeply influenced by her, Kollontai thus witnessed the debates about the holiday and knew about its key focus on suffrage. She was at the congress as a representative of the St. Petersburg textile workers, chief among the groups that insisted on participation in the 1908 Women's Congress and that initiated International Women's Day demonstrations in 1917.<sup>181</sup> Kollontai served on the International Secretariat and contributed to the main publication of the international socialist women's movement, *Die Gleichheit* (Equality), edited by Zetkin. Encouraging recognition of the holiday in her homeland, Kollontai penned an article on International Women's Day for *Pravda* in 1913.<sup>182</sup>

Suffrage remained the chief focus of early Women's Day commemorations. The Germans chose March 19, 1911, to inaugurate the holiday, honoring the popular uprising of March 19, 1848. On that day the Prussian king had promised, and later reneged on, a number of democratic reforms including women's suffrage. In the week before the 1911 celebration, German socialist women issued a new journal, *The Vote for Women*, with articles such as "What Has the Housewife Got to Do with Politics?" The holiday proved hugely popular; Germany and Austria, observed Kollontai, were "one seething, trembling sea of women."<sup>183</sup>

As in other countries, the commemoration of International Women's Day in Russia sparked conflict as activists across the feminist-socialist spectrum claimed the holiday. Feminists emphasized the cross-class organizing of women, and socialists viewed the day as a way to mobilize working-class women to join with their brothers in the revolutionary struggle.<sup>184</sup> International Women's Day was first celebrated in Russia on February 17, 1913.<sup>185</sup> The official date for the holiday had recently been set on March 8 (February 23 by the Russian calendar). The Russian organizers of the celebration, fearing police interference, set their commemoration earlier, to February 17.<sup>186</sup> Underlining the importance of the holiday, special issues of both the Bolshevik *Pravda* and the Menshevik *Luch* (Ray) appeared. The six-page *Pravda* contained articles about women workers as well as the significance of the socialist movement and of the holiday. Pictures of such female socialist luminaries as Zetkin, Eleanor Marx, and Vera Zasulich adorned the paper. In all, celebrations took place in five cities—Kiev, Moscow, Samara, St. Petersburg, and Tbilisi.<sup>187</sup> The Kiev celebration drew 150 people, but the main celebrations were in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Although the celebrations were organized by the Social Democrats, the speakers represented different factions, from the nonparty left, to socialist feminists, to social democrats. The Moscow festivities, held at the Third Women's Club, drew a large crowd. Kuskova spoke, emphasizing the role of women workers in the socialist movement and the importance of International Women's Day. The usual factional conflict erupted; the whole was chaired nervously by the young worker Masha Platonova.<sup>188</sup>

The biggest celebration was in St. Petersburg. Organized by a group of female textile workers and such activists as Konkordiia Nikolaevna Samoilova and Praskov'ia Kudelli, who were part of a special holiday committee established by the Bolshevik-controlled Petersburg Committee of the Social Democratic Party, the event, as in Moscow, featured speakers from a range of perspectives.<sup>189</sup> The main meeting of the day was held in the Great Hall of the Kalashnikov Exchange. The police were there in full force. At the entrance both mounted and regular patrols were stationed. Inside, the police occupied the first two rows. Exactly at one o'clock, they closed the doors of the hall, refusing to allow even those with tickets to enter. Despite this, more than a thousand people managed to crowd into the hall before the official starting time. Those attending were exposed to both feminist and socialist ideas, and talks that addressed the concerns of a wide range of women. The Menshevik Margulies-Aitova spoke about the political oppression of women and the need for female workers to fight together with other women for suffrage. Maria Ianchevskaia emphasized that the initiative for the assembly

came from female workers, likening their movement to a "tributary, flowing into the great river of the proletarian movement and giving it strength." Anna Gurevich focused on prostitution, its relationship to the economic situation, and the number of servants who became streetwalkers. Kuvshinskaia spoke of the growth of the female proletariat, the development of capitalism in Russia, and the change from an essentially peasant-oriented to a worker-oriented socialist movement. Peasants were not ignored; T. Kartach'eva, a clerk, described the difficult life of rural women.<sup>190</sup>

The International Women's Day commemoration served also as a way to encourage women workers to move into the public sphere by speaking at the celebration. The textile worker Alexandra Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, for example, gave her first talk at the event. She had never given a public speech before, much less one before such a large audience. Reconstructing her feelings on that day, she later wrote that although Samoilova and Lenin's sister Anna Il'inichna Ulianova-Elizarova had helped her, on the podium she was all alone: "When I walked on the stage, saw the bright buttons of the gendarmes, and behind them—the mass of people attentively looking at me, I was no longer able to figure out the words in my notes. With great difficulty I overcame my nervousness, put down my notebook and began to tell about the lives of women textile workers, which I knew very well from my own experience. . . . In the hall, an approving buzz could be heard."<sup>191</sup>

In her account Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, writing during the Soviet period, emphasizes how she demonized the feminists. She made a direct link between the foremen, the male agents of capitalism who oppressed workers, and the "bourgeois 'equal-rightists' who, ignorant of our life, charge us with frivolous behavior." Such women had no awareness that it "was not frivolity but dire need and unemployment which forced some women to resort to the shameful trade of prostitution." She concluded with an appeal for women workers to "maintain solidarity within the proletarian family and hand in hand with men strive for a better life."<sup>192</sup> The speech also brought Grigor'eva-Alekseeva some unwanted attention from another quarter. That night the police arrested her.<sup>193</sup> Despite the police actions, Ulianova-Elizarova pronounced herself pleased with the celebration, claiming it "played a vast, decisive role in the women workers movement" by recruiting many new activists: "From that day their [women workers'] enrollment in unions, clubs, and educational societies, their participation in illegal work grew by leaps and bounds."<sup>194</sup>

Contemporary accounts of this celebration make clear that many Russian feminists and socialists cooperated in commemorating the socialist women's holi-

day. In 1913, Russian feminists successfully lobbied the Duma, which could not enact women's suffrage, to designate International Women's Day a holiday.<sup>195</sup> By 1914 a feminist Women's Day meeting was held in St. Petersburg.<sup>196</sup> In Moscow the Women's League was able to win approval for a celebration. But while feminists emphasized the holiday's original demand for women's suffrage, party-affiliated socialists more and more focused on using the holiday to organize women workers, underlining their differences with the feminists and playing down the suffrage demand.

The growing conflict over the nature and meaning of the holiday can be seen in the 1914 celebrations. The Women's Progressive Party meeting in St. Petersburg featured lectures on women's suffrage and participation in local government which, according to the chief historian of the Russian women's holiday, was "in strict contradistinction to socialist goals."<sup>197</sup> Pokrovskaiia presented the radical feminist position most forcefully. International Women's Day salvoes back and forth between *Pravda* and *Zhenskii vestnik* contested the priorities of class and sex. *Pravda* charged that the feminists sought to divert proletarian women from their real struggle. Pokrovskaiia, whose *Zhenskii vestnik* paid much more attention to the plight of working women than its sister journals, rejoined that feminists did not deny the class interests of proletarian women but insisted on attention to their sexual oppression. All men benefited from male privilege; all women must join together to fight it.

But whereas socialist feminists like Margulies spoke at the celebration and emphasized women joining together in the battle for women's political rights, Pokrovskaiia wanted to go further, battling male privilege and advocating a complete critique of patriarchal relations: "As we expected, the women workers' day did not protest at all against the subordinate position of wives in relation to husbands. They spoke primarily of the enslavement of the proletarian woman by capital, and only in passing mentioned the *Domostroi*."<sup>198</sup> In this article Pokrovskaiia expressed passionately her views on what should be the chief concerns of women workers and what was a driving force in her own life. Kudelli, she wrote, "was wrong in asserting that economic interests are the most important for the woman worker." Women needed more than Marxist economic determinism. To Pokrovskaiia, "personal freedom stands higher," even if it means greater sacrifice: "The pet rooster is always full, and the wild eagle is often hungry. All the same, we prefer eagles."<sup>199</sup>

Celebrations of International Women's Day were held, despite police harassment, every year after 1913. The socialists bore the brunt of police interference. In 1914 socialist organizers decided to commemorate the holiday "in the European

style," with several large open meetings in the major workers' sections of St. Petersburg and with the first issue of the Bolshevik journal addressed specifically to proletarian women, *Rabotnitsa* (Woman worker). But a few days before, all the members of the Russian editorial board of the journal, with the exception of Ulianova-Elizarova, were arrested, and the majority of the articles designated for the initial issue confiscated by the police.<sup>200</sup>

Plans for several meetings were also blocked by the authorities. The socialists requested ten meetings; the authorities granted one. On February 23/March 8, 1914, extra detachments of police were on the streets. A large crowd gathered at the one legal meeting. Instead of five speakers, there were only two, as the police had arrested the other speakers and forbidden substitutions. Many of those present, disappointed and angry, spilled out into the streets, singing revolutionary songs. The police eventually dispersed them, after a considerable number of arrests.<sup>201</sup> In Moscow the Women's League was able to win approval for a celebration, but according to Bolshevik accounts, women workers, whose celebrations had not been approved, were not welcomed at this celebration. In 1915 and 1916, despite the war and a government ban, the day was commemorated by small meetings and celebrations.<sup>202</sup>

The appearance in 1914 of two journals specifically for women workers further indicated change in the Social Democrats' opposition to separate organizing among women. The Menshevik effort, *Golos rabotnitsy* (Voice of the woman worker), lasted for only two issues.<sup>203</sup> *Rabotnitsa*, which owed its origins in part to the popularity of the special women's page inaugurated by *Pravda* in 1913, proved more successful. Its first issue, which appeared despite the arrests of its editorial board in March 1914, contained a lead article by Krupskaja explaining the *raison d'être* of the journal. Although she acknowledged the heightened activism of women workers, which she ascribed to the successful campaign for sickness insurance, Krupskaja persisted in referring to most women workers as "backward." Women were the problem; they needed to be organized, to be as active as were their male comrades. "Solidarity between male and female workers, a common cause, common goals, a common path to those goals," according to Krupskaja, "is the resolution of the 'woman question' among workers."<sup>204</sup>

Women workers' "backwardness" consisted also in failing to distinguish between class and gender interests. Concluding with a plea for solidarity within the proletariat, Krupskaja emphasized the distinction between socialists and feminists. Women workers had to "become more conscious and organize." They had to understand the distinction between the socialist and feminist approaches to women's

rights, for the "struggle for women's rights with the opponents of those rights—men—this is the resolution of the 'woman question' among the bourgeoisie."<sup>205</sup> Thus, for Krupskaya, the "woman question" was to be answered by better organization of the female proletariat, certainly not, as Pokrovskaia advocated, by addressing the persistence of patriarchal practices among male workers. With its low price (four kopeks) and modest format, *Rabotnitsa* gained a following among women workers. Seven issues appeared in 1914; two were confiscated by the authorities. Some diehards still opposed the separate journal and were heard to grumble: "What do we need a separate women's journal for when we have no money?" In the end factors outside the Bolsheviks' control ended *Rabotnitsa's* pre-revolutionary run. Along with other workers' journals and papers, *Rabotnitsa* became a casualty of the outbreak of World War I.<sup>206</sup>

### Nationalism and Feminism before the War

Although preaching solidarity among all women, the feminists were not immune to the divisions prevalent in Russian society as a whole. A 1911 struggle among members of the League for Women's Equal Rights served as an important reminder: Although feminist theorists preached a unity among women that transcended class, religion, or politics, those differences stubbornly remained and grew more intense with rising nationalist fervor. Maria Raikh was the point person in a bitter conflict between the two main League chapters in 1911 that damaged their working relationship, aired disagreements involving charges of anti-Semitism, provided a rare public glimpse into the conflicts within a feminist organization, and demonstrated that feminist organizations were far from monolithic. The incident reveals the kinds of political and personal tensions under the League's relatively placid surface. The dispute at issue occurred at the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) congress in Stockholm, from June 12 through 17, 1911. The League, replacing the defunct Women's Union as the official Russian liaison to the IWSA, sent six delegates, three from Moscow (Raikh, Blandova, and Mirovich) and three from St. Petersburg (Shishkina-Iavein and two others).

Raikh had received the approval of the Moscow chapter council for a talk on its activities and for a request to the IWSA to extend the time allotted to Russia to make room for her talk. But, charged Raikh, when she got to the congress and made the request, Shishkina-Iavein, the official head of the delegation, sharply rebuked her. In addition, Mirovich, the most internationally well connected of any

of the Russian feminists, advised the IWSA congress secretary that Raikh's request represented neither the delegation nor Russia. Further inflaming the situation, Raikh accused Mirovich of telling her that as a Jew she could not represent the interests of Russian women. Mirovich and Shishkina-lavein did not deny criticizing Raikh. But Mirovich denied any approach to the congress secretary and branded the charge of anti-Semitism a "malicious slander" cooked up by Raikh to make her accusations more convincing. Mirovich asserted: "My behavior in relation to Mme. Raikh was completely correct." None of the other delegates verified Raikh's story.<sup>207</sup>

After hearing both sides, the Moscow council voted in support of Raikh, stating that because her actions as a delegate had been cleared with them, it was really the council that was being attacked. But since the matter had already made the newspapers, the council decided to call a general meeting of the chapter. The meeting was so stormy that Chekhova, the chair, was unable to maintain order. Mirovich claimed that her attempts to defend herself were interrupted by "noise, laughter, and crude remarks."<sup>208</sup> The incident split the Moscow branch. Of the sixty-seven women present at the meeting, some left; of those who remained, a little more than half (twenty-two of forty) signed a resolution supporting Raikh and the council.<sup>209</sup> Mirovich claimed that only thirteen people adopted the resolution of support, but the veteran feminist was sufficiently wounded by the entire affair to leave the League and take others with her.<sup>210</sup> Pokrovskaia in the *Zhenskii vestnik*, although neutral in reporting the incident, called the Mirovich withdrawal "a great loss." Mirovich died two years later.<sup>211</sup> That this conflict represented deeper divisions became even more evident when months later another dispute between League members and their council caused the postponement of a joint women's public meeting initiated by the Club of the Women's Progressive Party.<sup>212</sup>

Growing nationalism affected another feminist. Ariadna Tyrkova wrote for *Rech'* and served until 1914 as head of the Kadet Press Bureau. Rightists attacked *Rech'* as a Jewish paper and Tyrkova as having sold herself to the Jews. Jews were prominent as financial backers of the paper and as writers; I. V. Gessen coedited the paper with Miliukov. The absurdity of such accusations was dismissed by Tyrkova and her allies, although she uncritically repeated them later in her memoirs.<sup>213</sup> Still, anti-Jewish sentiment, or what Peter Struve called "asimetizm"—to distinguish the crude anti-Semitism of the extreme right from a "cultural repulsion" (*kul'turnoe ottalkivanie*)—appears to have affected some Kadet circles.<sup>214</sup> Unease about supposed Jewish influence within the Kadets could have been one of the precipitating factors in the long simmering conflicts that came into the open

in 1912 with the formation of the Progressive Party, composed of some Moscow industrialists, academics, and other civic leaders. A new paper, *Russkaia mol'va* (Russian talk) may have been envisioned as a more "Russian" alternative to *Rech'*, although the message was very subtle. There was nothing overtly anti-Semitic in the paper's contents. Tyrkova was the editor, a first for a Russian woman (a number of women had edited and published journals). Peter Struve was economics editor. Initially the paper enjoyed success. As the voice of the right wing of the Kadets and the Progressive Party, *Russkaia mol'va* had the second highest circulation in St. Petersburg. Struve's programmatic manifesto for the initial issue, arguing that "to be strong, authority has to be progressive and liberal," was fairly bland.<sup>215</sup> The Kadet "national-liberal" group grew closer to the Progressive Party; the "*raskol*" (split) among the Kadets continued, but *Russkaia mol'va* did not. The paper folded in 1913.<sup>216</sup>

Tyrkova was not among those abandoning the Kadets. She continued to serve as the only woman on the party's Central Committee. Aware of her status, she claimed in her memoirs that she had attained her position on her own, as a woman (*chisto po-zhenski*), not by imitating men. She prided herself on being the "enfant terrible" of the Kadet inner circle.<sup>217</sup> Tensions between the two main chapters of the League, an open split among an already small group of feminists, the departure of the Russian feminist with the most international ties, accusations of anti-Semitism in a movement that drew most of its members from the intelligentsia (among which there were many Jews), all these represented the type of horizontal hostility that has destroyed many movements.

In a November 25, 1911, letter to Chekhova, Anna Kal'manovich philosophically viewed the turmoil in the League as a sign of the times: "I don't grieve what's happening in our League; I think that nothing can be done." The Women's Union was part of "another time," of meetings that were "crowded, serious, when union delegates engaged not in intrigues but on the cause." Now, people kept to themselves, in their own tight circles. The St. Petersburg League Council had "kicked around" the idea of meeting more often, organizing group readings and conversations. But in general "our female masses are completely indifferent to all questions."<sup>218</sup>

Buffeted by internal conflicts and facing the intransigence of the tsarist government and the hostility of many in the organized left, the feminists could still look at the years between the 1908 Women's Congress and the outbreak of World War I as a time of some progress. They had kept their core of leaders and continued to build a consensus within Russian society favoring women's rights. They



had won some legislative victories in Dumas much less progressive than their pre-1907 predecessors. The dynamic Shishkina-Iavein gained prominence; she, along with such activists as Shabanova, Pokrovskaiia, and Chekhova, continued to keep women's rights issues before the public and the legislature, through congresses, the press, and persistent lobbying.

By 1914, Russian feminists had not won votes for women, their chief demand. Finland remained the lone outpost of women's suffrage in the Russian Empire and one of the few in the world. Hopes for extending women's suffrage beyond Finland to other parts of the empire, especially its Russian core, were clearly unrealistic. In the great debates about the future of Russia that continued through the period of repression after the 1905 revolution, the issue of women's suffrage and women's rights took on symbolic value. For the extreme right, proposals to change women's status represented the ultimate front in the battle to preserve the traditional family. Allowing women to gain political rights would undermine patriarchal authority in the family, and by extension threaten the foundations of autocratic rule. Furthermore, in their view, women, especially educated women, were easily seduced by revolutionary rhetoric.<sup>219</sup> Unfettered by patriarchal controls, the female was considered really dangerous.<sup>220</sup>

The very repressiveness and intransigence of the tsarist government played a role in influencing public opinion in favor of the women's rights cause. For a growing number of Russian liberals and conservatives, support for various forms of women's rights and women's suffrage symbolized their commitment to transforming Russia into a modern state. As government officials moved away from ambivalence on women's rights to hard-line opposition, liberals who had been opponents moved the other way, integrating support for equal rights fully into their vision of democracy. By the outbreak of World War I, among Russian liberals there were no prominent opponents of women's suffrage. In this they differed from liberal politicians in the West, who were far more divided about women's political roles. British Liberal Party leader and four-time Prime Minister William Gladstone opposed women's suffrage, claiming that married or not, women had to be spared "the whirlpool of public life." Similarly, Herbert Asquith, the prime minister from 1908 to 1916, was staunchly antisuffrage.<sup>221</sup> In the United States, Woodrow Wilson refused to support suffrage well into his presidency.<sup>222</sup>

On the left, although on paper proclaiming a very progressive commitment to women's rights, some socialist leaders continued to view the appeal of the feminist message to women workers with alarm. Anxiety about the "backwardness" of women, about their susceptibility to the swan songs of the suffragists and

threats to class solidarity, can be seen in attempts to reshape International Women's Day into Women Workers Day. Nevertheless, despite much rhetoric about the "bourgeois feminists," many feminists defined themselves as socialists, many socialists defined themselves as feminists, and cooperation between activists across this spectrum was far greater than has generally been acknowledged by historians.

Through revolution and reaction, despair and disparagement, the feminists demonstrated resilience and persistence in their fight for women's rights. In this they resembled their sister activists in other countries. As the historian of global feminism Karen Offen has observed, while little headway had been made on suffrage before the outbreak of war in 1914, "all Europe was responding to the challenges that women's emancipation posed."<sup>223</sup> Both the right and the left had to face the issues raised by the feminists. Ironically, the war, viewed by the government as a means of preserving and enhancing the masculine authority of the autocrat, became a vehicle for the mobilization of the female masses. And the celebration of a seven-year-old international socialist-feminist holiday helped spark the collapse of a patriarchal dynasty.

Liubov Gurevich (1866–1940). Feminist activist, editor of the *Northern Herald* (*Sever'nyi vestnik*), and literary critic. Source: E. N. Gurevich, "L. Ia. Gurevich-Teatral'nyi kritik," in *Bestuzhevki v riadakh stroitelei sotsializma* (Moscow: "Mysl'," 1969), 188.



Maria Pokrovskaja (1852–1922?). Feminist physician, editor and publisher of the *Women's Herald* (*Zhenskii vestnik*), and founder of the Women's Progressive Party, one of the first such parties in the world. Source: Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Petersburg*, 207.

Zinaida Mirovich (1865–1913) in 1901. Feminist activist, translator of Norwegian dramatist Henrik Ibsen's plays, supporter of the English suffragists, and speaker at Hyde Park. Source: *Sbornik na pomoshch uchashchimsia zhenshchinam*, 242.





**Olga Shapir (1850–1916).** Feminist activist and populist author whose father was a peasant. *Source: Sbornik na pomoshch uchashchimsia zhen-shchinam, 337.*

**Maria Chekhova (1869–1937).** A founder of the Women's Equal Rights Union, editor of the journal *Union of Women* (1907–1909), and the first president of the Moscow chapter of the League for Women's Equal Rights. *Source: Praskov'ia Arian, First Woman's Calendar, 1908.*



**Nikolai Chekhov (1865–1947).** Central Committee member, Women's Equal Rights Union, and progressive educator. *Source: Sedel'nikova, N. V. Chekhov, 48.*



Ariadna Tyrkova (1869–1962). Feminist activist, journalist, and for many years the only woman on the Kadet Party Central Committee. *Source: Borman, A. V. Tyrkova-Vil'iams po ee pis'mam i vospominaniiam syna*, opp. p. 8.



Anna Miliukova (1861–1935), Paul Miliukov (1859–1943), and their daughter, Taki. *Source: Sankt-Petersburg-Stolitsa Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Moscow: Russkaya kniga), 280, photo 324.



Pioneering feminist Anna Filosofova (1837–1912) and granddaughter Nina, in 1911.

Source: *Sbornik pamiati Anny Pavlovny Filosofovoi*, vol. 1, A. V. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova i ee vremia*, opp. 432.

Anna Filosofova, featured in a Japanese newspaper as a leader of the International Council of Women. Source: *Sbornik pamiati Anny Pavlovny Filosofovoi*, vol. 2, *Stat'i i materialy*, opp. p. 8.



Ekaterina Kuskova (1869–1958). Nonparty Marxist and a key figure in implementing Russian political leaders' pledge to make women's suffrage the law.

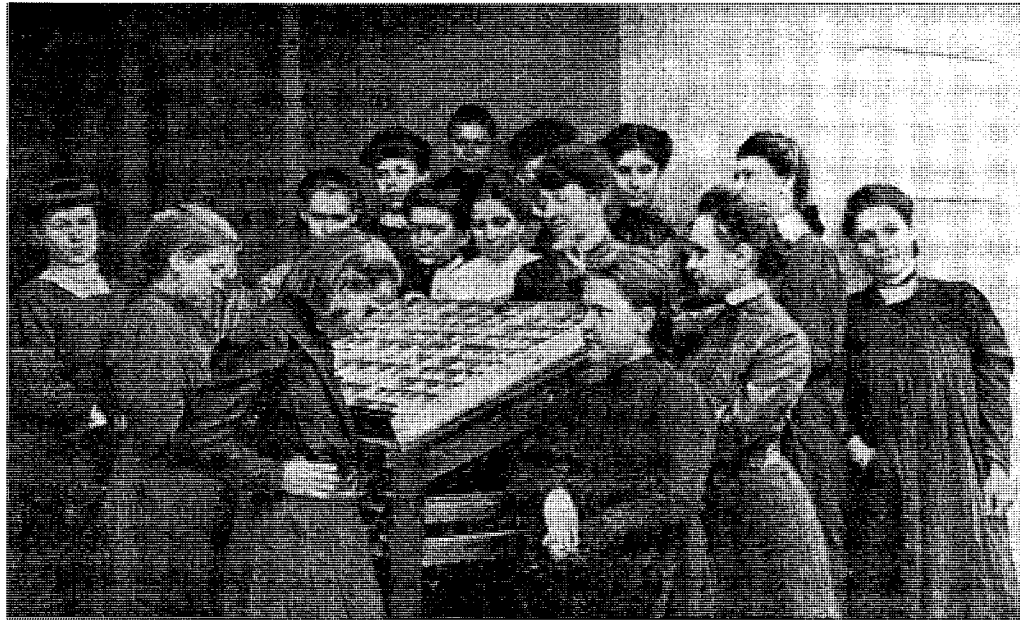
Source: deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 278. Courtesy of Barbara Norton



Saratov servants' union around 1906. *Source:* Saratov Museum of Local History. Courtesy of Timothy Mixter.



Saratov synagogue after the pogrom following Tsar Nicholas II's October 1905 Manifesto granting democratic reforms. *Source:* Saratov Museum of Local History. Courtesy of Timothy Mixter.



A Women's Press collective in St. Petersburg, 1908. *Source:* From the *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1908 g.*, edited by Praskov'ia Arian, section V, *From the Past and Present*, I.

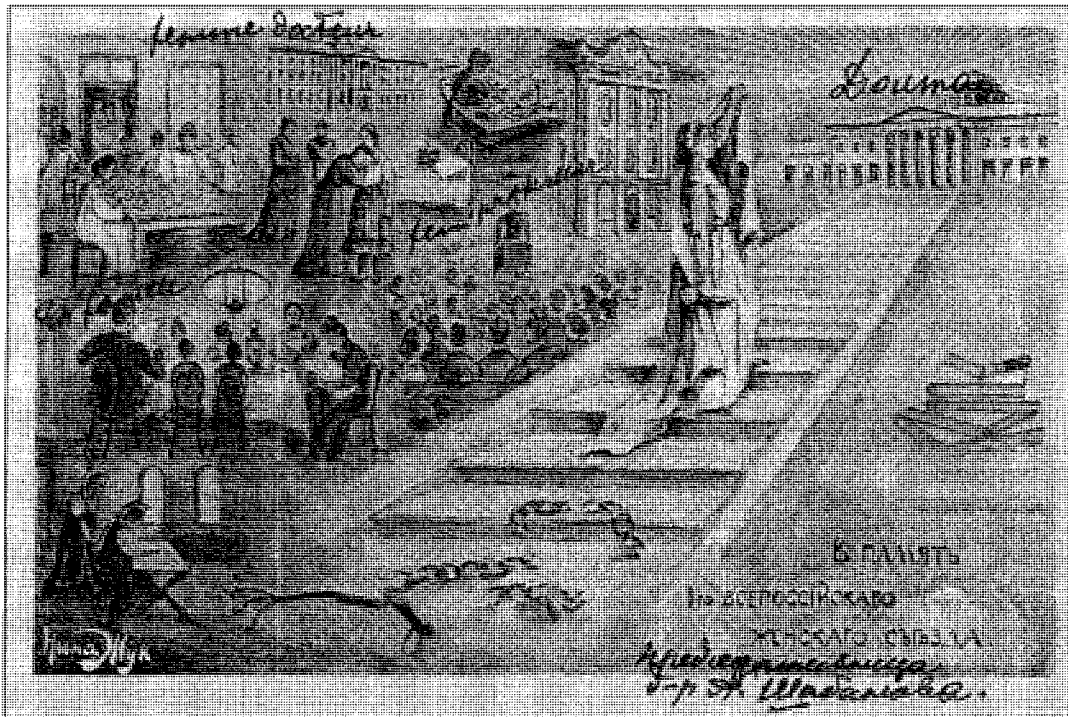


The first female representatives elected to the Finnish Parliament, 1907. *Source:* Manninen and Setälä, *Lady with the Bow*, 46.





The 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress program. Participants hold a globe with the congress theme of Equal Rights and Equal Responsibilities. *Source:* From the personal archives of the author.

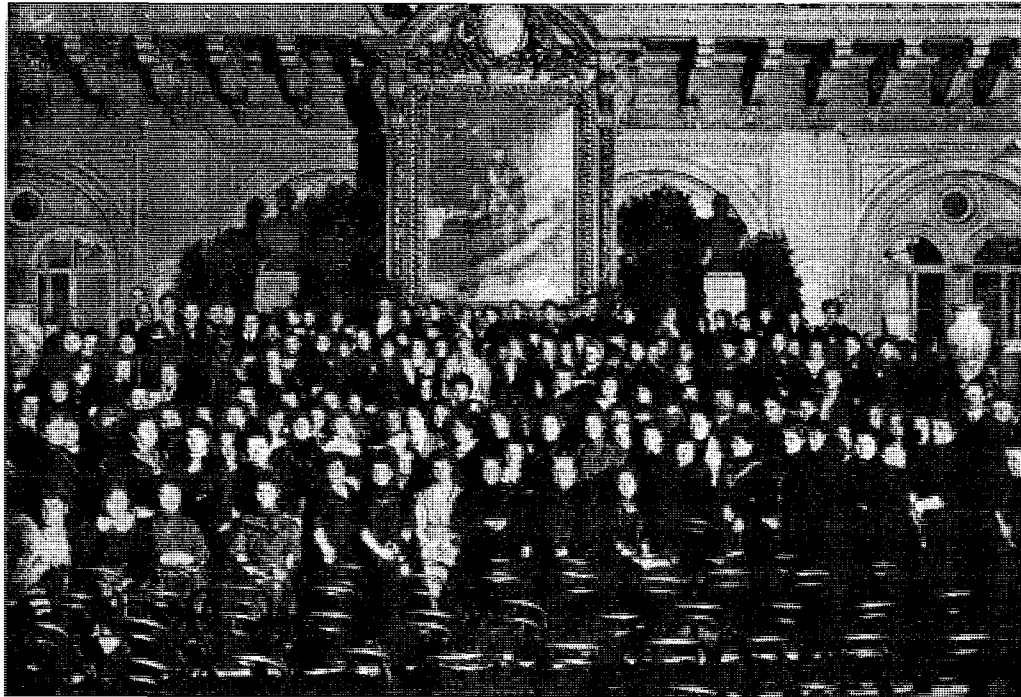


Postcard from the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress inscribed by the chairwoman, Anna Shabanova, showing a woman ascending to the Duma, the Russian parliament. *Source:* From the National Archives of Canada, MG28145, vol. 46, Box 116, File 686, Reproduction copy number Q2-39532.



A meeting of the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress Organizing Committee. Anna Filosofova sits fourth from the left; Anna Shabanova stands next to her; and Anna Miliukova sits at the head of the table.

*Source:* Courtesy of Irina Yukina.



The opening session of the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress. Anna Filosofova and Vera Belokonskaia stand under the portrait of Tsar Nicholas II at the 1908 congress opening session. Anna Shabanova is sixth to the left of Belokonskaia. *Source:* Courtesy of Irina Yukina.



A session of the 1908 All-Russian Women's Congress. Nikolai Chekhov is second from the left; Maria Chekhova is third from the left in the top row. *Source:* Courtesy of Irina Yukina.



Letterhead of the Russian League for Women's Equal Rights, in Russian, French, and German. *Source:* Courtesy of Nonna Roshchina.



Visiting card of Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein, president of the St. Petersburg chapter of the League for Women's Equal Rights from 1907 through 1917. *Source:* Courtesy of the Jessie Kenney Papers, University of East Anglia Archive, KP/JK/4/1/3 (box of visiting cards).



Image from the newsreel of the March 19, 1917, demonstration, showing Vera Figner and Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein in the car leading the women's suffrage march. *Source:* Russian State Archive of Film and Video Documents (RGAKFD), Krasnogorsk.



The March 19, 1917, suffrage march. View down Nevskii Prospekt, Petrograd's main street. The front banner reads "Voting rights to women." *Source:* From the Central State Archive of Film, Photo and Phonograph Documents (TsGAKFFD SPB), St. Petersburg, D3708.



From the March 19, 1917, demonstration. The banner reads "Land Rights to Peasant women." *Source:* From the personal archive of Jonathan Sanders.





March 19, 1917, demonstrators in front of the Tauride Palace, headquarters of both the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The banner reads "Women Unite" and the inscription is "Women's Meeting in front of the State Duma." *Source:* Central State Museum of the Contemporary History of Russia, A57859.



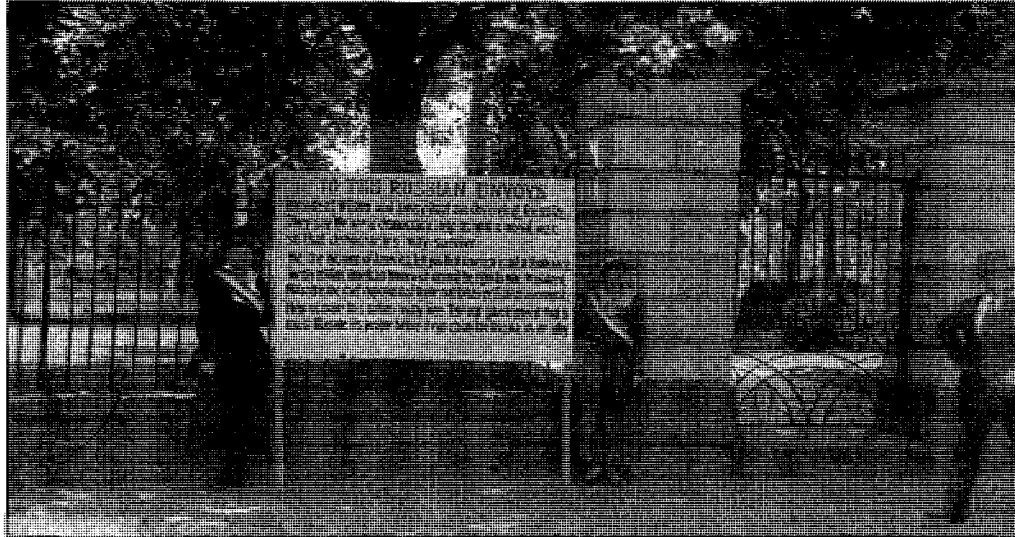
Russian Orthodox Patriarch Nikon blessing soldiers of the Women's Battalion before they go to the front in 1917. *Source:* From the personal archive of Jonathan Sanders.



Constituent Assembly election posters on a Petrograd Street: one for the League for Women's Equal Rights list (upper middle), one for the women's list 13 (lower middle), and one (far right) for the Kadet party. *Source:* New York Public Library, Digital Photo Archive 51538.



Voting in the Constituent Assembly elections. *Source:* Getty Images, Hulton Archive digital collection, at <http://www.gettyimages.com/archive>.



Lucy Burns (left) and Katherine Morey (right). Burns and Morey accused U.S. president Woodrow Wilson and his envoy, Elihu Root, of deceiving Russia by claiming that the United States is a democracy. Police let onlookers destroy the banner. Burns and Morey were the first women arrested while picketing the White House. Wilson later endorsed the Nineteenth Amendment, which passed in 1920. *Source:* Courtesy of the National Women's Party Collection, Sewall-Belmont House and Museum, Washington, D.C. (P2228).



Cartoon published in the National Women's Party weekly newspaper, *The Suffragist*, on March 24, 1917, drawn by Nina Allender. *Source:* Courtesy of the National Women's Party Collection, Sewall-Belmont House and Museum, Washington, D.C. (PC3927).





Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams with her family, in London, in the 1920s. Sitting (from left to right): granddaughter Natasha Borman, Tyrkova's mother S. K. Tyrkova, Tyrkova-Williams, granddaughter Dina Bocharskaia, daughter S. Bocharskaia. Standing (from left to right): daughter-in-law T. V. Borman, son Arkadii Borman, and husband Harold Williams (d. 1928).  
*Source: Borman, A. V. Tyrkova-Vil'iams po ee pis'mam i vospominaniiam syna, opp. p. 224.*



Shishkina-Iavein's grave. Her granddaughter, Nonna Roshchina, stands next to the grave. The inscription reads: "Shishkina-Iavein, Poliksena Nesterovna, 1875–1947." *Source:* From the personal archives of the author.



Anna Shabanova's grave. The inscription reads: "One of the first women doctors in Russia. From the workers of the Leningrad transport depot 1101." *Source:* From the personal archives of the author.

## War, Revolution, Victory?

Weren't we women first out on the streets?

—*Alexandra Kollontai, 1917*

My life made me a suffragist!

—*Maria Pokrovskaia, 1917*

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1917, was International Women's Day in Russia. For February in Petrograd it was unusually warm, the temperatures reaching 46 degrees Fahrenheit (8 degrees Centigrade). The weather brought people out of their houses to bask in the sun. The Petrograd governor, A. P. Balk, received reports about several lively gatherings of "many ladies, and even more poor women, students, and fewer workers compared to previous demonstrations." These were not spontaneous gatherings; they were planned. Crowds formed in the center of the city, on Znamenskaia Square, near the headquarters of the League for Women's Equal Rights, on Nevskii Prospekt, and at the City Duma as well as in the workers' districts. In the beginning, the participants were well behaved, laughing, talking to each other but also chanting in a restrained, plaintive way: "Bread, Bread." Balk had no idea why the groups had gathered on that day, and why there were so many women in the crowds.<sup>1</sup>

Balk was not the only one taken by surprise on International Women's Day. In the industrial districts ringing Petrograd, socialist leaders were very aware of the holiday but planned to mark it quietly. Most preferred to wait until May Day for the demonstrations that, they expected, would bring down the tsar. Vyborg, one of the largest industrial districts of the imperial capital, was home to major metalworking and textile factories, the latter employing many women. As the day progressed, meetings and demonstrations there and in other districts became more turbulent. The cries for bread grew angrier and mixed with more direct political demands for peace, an end to the war, and overthrowing the tsar. Crowds sang "La Marseillaise." Women shouted: "It's our holiday! Let us be the standard bearers!" Some carried banners demanding equal rights: "If woman is a slave there will be no freedom. Long live equal rights for women."<sup>2</sup>

The year 1917 is the most minutely studied in all of Russian history. The vast literature on the events of that year usually begins by addressing the root causes of the social unrest that led to the February Revolution. Scholars continue to debate whether and to what degree the events of that month represent spontaneous outbursts or the culmination of years of revolutionary organizing. In almost all the debates the focus is on men, as workers, political and military leaders, soldiers, peasants, and government officials. The story of women as political actors in 1917, their mass entry into the public space of Petrograd, and its effects still remains largely invisible in the major histories of the period. Those scholars who challenge women's invisibility generally confine their attention to working-class and peasant women's role in strikes, uprisings, and food or subsistence riots, or as soldiers or soldiers' wives. For the most part they portray this activity as separate from and hostile to demands for political rights.<sup>3</sup> The few historians who have studied the feminist movement have made significant contributions to making women's rights campaigns visible. But while documenting Russian feminism, they have downplayed the significance of its chief demand, suffrage, claiming that breaking the gender barriers to voting proved to be a "hollow victory."<sup>4</sup>

What connects the socialist International Women's Day with feminism, how did this connection manifest itself in 1917, and why is it significant? The war that engulfed Europe from August 1914 brought about vast changes in Russia. For women of the working and educated classes, World War I accelerated trends and processes already visible before the conflict. In the factories, even in industries heavily dominated by men, the number of women workers had steadily increased. Female employment in the metalworking industry grew by 33 percent between 1901 and 1910, as employers took advantage of women's lower wage rates.<sup>5</sup> In

other wartime situations the shortage of male labor provided new opportunities and challenges for women. But the very magnitude of this war, with its unprecedented numbers of combatants, spurred an enormous demand for labor. Already a significant part of the paid workforce, women now joined in greater numbers. The proportion of females in Russian industry increased from 26.6 percent in 1914 to 43.2 percent in 1917. Although the growth in Petrograd was not as high as in Russia as a whole, the proportion of women in the city's labor force increased from 25.7 percent in 1913 to 33.3 percent in 1917. With the vast mobilization of men, the number of soldiers' wives, among the most marginalized and stigmatized of women, rose substantially.<sup>6</sup>

For women of the intelligentsia, the tsarist government opened up educational and professional work opportunities. Responding to the shortage of physicians, the Ministry of Education announced in 1915 that it was certifying as doctors both female and male graduates of foreign universities who had received their secondary education in Russia.<sup>7</sup> After a number of petitions from the Women's League, the Ministry of Education agreed to accept women into the universities on an equal basis with men. The ministry, however, insisted that this process begin only after the acceptance of all "qualified" male applicants.<sup>8</sup> And for the first time, women were named directors of twenty-eight post offices in the imperial capital.<sup>9</sup> Some men were so pleased with women's wartime contributions that they planned to express their gratitude by erecting a monument.<sup>10</sup>

As the government had hoped, the outbreak of the war turned many an opponent of the tsarist regime into a staunch defender of the motherland. Feminists generally supported the war, responding with a chorus of patriotic outbursts and enthusiastically turning to activities aiding the military effort. According to one observer, among radical students of the Bestuzhev women's courses, "revolutionary slogans were superseded by 'patriotic,' defensist slogans."<sup>11</sup> The major feminist publications lined up behind the war, adopting the argument that the conflict would be good for equal rights. *Zhenskoe delo* called for unity among women, sounding the themes of patriotism, nationalism, sacrifice, and possible reward in its August 1, 1914, issue.<sup>12</sup> The war would aid the cause of women's equality, declared the journal's editors, for "in such a great patriotic moment, the Russian woman would show herself to be a true citizen, in the same way as were the famous Roman matrons." Women, according to *Zhenskoe delo*, would contribute in a way suited to their gender role, "not with death-dealing weapons, but with works of love and mercy." For the moment they would return to the timeless tradition of selflessness, "reduce to the minimum our needs, abandon luxury, and

sacrifice all on the altar of society.” In the end women would be rewarded with “the success of that equality which progressive women all over the world hope to achieve.”<sup>13</sup>

Even Maria Pokrovskaia, who had written extensively on men’s violence and could have shunned the war as another example of the depravity of male-dominated governments, rallied to the defense of the motherland. The Germans, she argued, epitomized male violence. It was not only the nation that faced assault but specifically its women. In the pages of her journal *Zhenskii vestnik*, reports of atrocities were confined to those allegedly committed by the Germans. An article in the March 1915 issue of *Zhenskii vestnik*, for example, asserted that German soldiers were being encouraged to rape the women of their conquered lands.<sup>14</sup>

The outbreak of the war, demonstrating the powerful hold of nationalism, split socialists into two camps—defensists and internationalists. But although many male socialist leaders embraced national causes, leading socialist women did not. The most prominent women in the international socialist movement, ranging from Angelica Balabanoff to Rosa Luxemburg to Clara Zetkin and Alexandra Kollontai, opposed the war. Zetkin’s German socialist women’s paper *Die Gleichheit* expressed within the limits of censorship and party discipline far more opposition to the war than other socialist publications.<sup>15</sup> Although far from immune to nationalist appeals, prominent Russian socialist leaders, both male and female, were more likely to be antiwar. Many, sure to be arrested if they returned to Russia, remained in exile until after the outbreak of the February Revolution. Lenin, Nikolai Bukharin, and Julius Martov were in Switzerland; Kollontai traveled to Scandinavia and the United States; Leon Trotsky was in New York.<sup>16</sup>

The prewar feminist leaders remained in their posts throughout the conflict. They showed openness to the work of those seeking to end the bloodshed, although they shunned the major international women’s peace congress at The Hague. Both the Dutch Aletta Jacobs and the American Jane Addams, dissenting from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance leadership’s policy of neutrality, convened the Women’s International Congress for Peace, held from April 28 through May 1, 1915. The congress called for an end to the war, the political enfranchisement of women, and the presence of women delegates at the peace conference after the war. Countering the argument that women’s contribution during wartime would aid in attaining suffrage, the congress’s organizers argued for the female vote as a force for peace. Their final resolutions included the statement that “since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility

and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.”<sup>17</sup>

The Hague Congress established an International Women’s Committee for the Permanent Peace and sent representatives around the world to meet with feminist groups and sympathetic male political leaders.<sup>18</sup> A delegation came to Petrograd, met with the minister of foreign affairs, and had several discussions with Paul Miliukov. They were invited to the home of Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein. No specifics about these meetings are known.<sup>19</sup> Neither Anna Shabanova nor Shishkina-Iavein expressed hostility to the Hague Congress, as did feminist leaders in other countries. Although she enthusiastically plunged herself and the Women’s Society into work supporting the war, Shabanova showed the most public ambivalence about the war and its effect on the international women’s movement. In her report on the preparations for the Hague Congress to a March 1, 1915, general meeting of the Mutual Philanthropic Society, Shabanova regretted that the war had destroyed the feeling of an international sisterhood, a “peaceful, united sphere [where] women of different nationalities considered themselves sisters, ideological comrades, inspired by one idea about the welfare of all women throughout the world.”<sup>20</sup>

The fullest exposition of Shishkina-Iavein’s views on war appeared in a short essay in a pamphlet entitled *What Can Russia Expect from the War?* The pamphlet also featured contributions by the psychologist Vladimir Bekhterev, the historian Vladimir Vernadskii, the economist Mikhail Tugan-Baranovskii, and the Kadets Miliukov and Andrei Shingarev. Zinaida Gippius was the only other female contributor.<sup>21</sup> Women, Shishkina-Iavein argued, are not responsible for any of society’s ills, as the state is a male creation. Nevertheless, appealing to nationalist sentiment, she argued that in the current conflict Russian women had shown that they, equally with men, were contributing to the war effort. All women’s organizations were working for the “good of the nation.” But organizations were not enough. Above all, mothers were critical in shaping the future of the country. Shishkina-Iavein emphasized their exclusive role in raising a new type of human being with a higher understanding of patriotism and love for the nation. Russian women, “as the people’s representative, will bring to the masses the idea of Christian love and universal brotherhood.”<sup>22</sup>

Feminist journals highlighted positive aspects of the hostilities. They applauded, as did other temperance advocates, the government ban on the sale of liquor.<sup>23</sup> Along with female self-sacrifice came female assertion. Articles in *Zhen-skii vestnik* described the effects of the war on women’s sense of self-reliance. Women, explained Maria Ivanova in Pokrovskaiia’s *Women’s Herald*, had discovered

that they “can be as smart, as hard workers as their husbands, fathers, brothers.”<sup>24</sup> The pages of the feminist publications were replete with articles detailing how women were helping the cause by sewing bandages, visiting the sick and wounded, working as nurses, and even fighting as soldiers. The work of women in defense of the motherland was seen as a way of proving that they were worthy of political equality. Maria Blandova wrote in *Zhenskoe delo* that “thanks to this monstrous war, the last argument against equal rights for women put forth by the enemies of women’s freedom has fallen.” Women had proven the equal of men and “succeeded fully in displaying wartime valor.”<sup>25</sup>

The war did not still activity on behalf of women’s rights. Besides petitions from the League for Women’s Equal Rights for equal university education, feminists continued other lobbying efforts. In the fall of 1915 both the Moscow and Petrograd branches of the League passed resolutions calling for immediate government action on equal rights. The Petrograd resolution, citing the important wartime contributions of women, called for the “obliteration of the shameful paragraph in the Law Code, placing woman on the same level as minors, idiots and criminals, and the legal recognition of her well-deserved civic rights.” The Moscow resolution, directed at members of the Duma, chastised them for failing to press the cause of women’s rights at a time when national unity on the basis of full equality was recognized as the only way to achieve victory. It concluded with the hope that “in future speeches, orators from your fractions will, in addition to the freedom and equality of the nationalities inhabiting Russia, also mention the equality of women.”<sup>26</sup>

The response of the tsarist government to women’s wartime activity was uneven and uncoordinated. On the one hand, a Woman’s Congress, planned for the end of December 1915 to discuss the work of women and women’s organizations in connection with the war, was postponed because of difficulties in obtaining government permission. Even this rather muted activity was deemed too threatening by some tsarist bureaucrats, who used the war as an excuse for repressing women’s organizations. In Rostov-na-Donu the governor closed the local Women’s Club, calling it “bad and harmful.”<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, in 1915 the tsar approved the creation of the St. Olga medal, specifically for women, to honor their wartime service to the empire.<sup>28</sup>

In January 1916 the Council of the Russian Women’s Society sent a statement to all town dumas informing them that because of the shortage of workers, the Ministry of the Interior was considering broadening the categories of eligible voters. The statement urged them to press for the inclusion of women. Feminist groups



also took part in the preelection campaign for the Petrograd city duma early in 1916, uniting in support of the Progressive Bloc. The Women's Club, the Mutual Philanthropic Society, the Club of the Women's Progressive Party, the League for Women's Equal Rights, and the Society of Women Jurists joined to sponsor a public meeting and issue a call to all voters to cast their ballots for the bloc, which included Kadets, Octobrists, and Nationalists. The bloc had been endorsed by a clear majority in the Duma (300 of the 420 deputies).<sup>29</sup>

Mainstream women's periodicals were slow to acknowledge the conflict's devastating effects. Some journals tried to maintain a semblance of prewar reality. *Zhenskoe delo* and other women's publications still carried pictures of the latest fashions, and letters from readers worried about skin and hair care, interspersed among the war news.<sup>30</sup> But while life for some privileged women went on as before, the urban female masses were becoming more restive. Forced to stand in long lines in freezing weather for basic food to feed their families, they turned some of their anger about shortages against rich women, "who are able to buy goods from the salesmen at once, even if the goods cost one hundred rubles, thus contributing to the disappearance of goods."<sup>31</sup>

Two new journals, both devoted to reporting on women's war efforts, emerged as a result of the conflict. *Zhenshchina i voina* (Woman and war) appeared briefly in 1915. *Zhenskaia zhizn'* (Woman's life) first surfaced in October 1914. Edited by a man, A. V. Lobanov, its purpose was "providing information about the events of the war and the activity of women in connection with the war."<sup>32</sup> Lobanov, formerly the publisher of *Zhurnal dlia khoziaek* (The housewives' journal), expressed the hope that the government, having tested women's mettle in the "trial by fire" of war, would eliminate all barriers to their equal rights. It too was short-lived, ceasing publication in 1916, when news of the war could hardly be expected to brighten the life of even the most die-hard Russian patriot.<sup>33</sup>

With the economic situation steadily worsening, feminists directed more attention to the plight of poor women. In March 1916, Pokrovskaia became one of the directors of the Women's Economic Union, with the goal of "improving the economic and moral situation of women."<sup>34</sup> The feminist efforts alarmed many party-affiliated socialists. Commemorating International Women's Day in 1916, they again accused the feminists of seeking to draw working women away from their "real allies"—proletarian men.<sup>35</sup> After some early military successes the Russian war effort bogged down; on the home front massive bureaucratic ineptitude and corruption led to deepening food supply crises and growing unrest. The mass of urban women, their ranks swelled by migrants from the countryside, grew more

and more frustrated with the struggle to feed their families and began to riot; food disorders or *bab'i bunty* (women's riots) became more frequent. Unrest in the form of strikes by female and male workers grew.<sup>36</sup> Soldiers' wives, marginalized in the best of times, were in an especially difficult situation, dependent on small payments from the government, sometimes supplemented by local funds. Those in rural areas received no additional aid; they survived on what they could grow or scavenge, or they increasingly emigrated to the cities in search of paid work.<sup>37</sup>

As the war dragged on, increasing food shortages, long lines, and inflation inflamed the mood of the masses, especially those in the urban centers. The per pound price of rye bread, a key element of the working-class diet, rose from three kopeks in 1913 to eighteen kopeks in 1916. The cost of soap increased by 245 percent in Petrograd. Food and "subsistence" riots by women became more common, but the government was able to control them.<sup>38</sup> Still, officials worried about the explosiveness of the situation and ordered the jailing of "every Right and Left socialist it could lay its hands on."<sup>39</sup> Beleaguered left leaders underestimated the significance of the disorders, although they continued to express anxiety about feminist inroads among women. The tsarist police proved more prescient. A January 1917 police report, one of many about the deteriorating situation, reflected concern about the volatility of poor urban women, "the mothers of families, exhausted from the endless standing in line at the stores, tormented by the look of their half-starving and sick children." Such women, the police agent continued, "are very likely closer now to revolution than Messrs. Miliukov, Rodichev and Company, and of course they are more dangerous because they represent that store of inflammable material, for which one spark will set off a fire."<sup>40</sup>

## Women and the February Revolution

The February Revolution and its aftermath are marked by two major occasions when women flocked to the streets, occupying public space and changing history. The first is the International Women's Day demonstration on February 23. The second, the March 19 demonstration that won Russian women suffrage from a reluctant Provisional Government, is largely unacknowledged.<sup>41</sup> Challenging the limited role assigned to women in most histories of 1917, women's history scholars have significantly contributed to understanding the gendered aspects of the revolutionary events of February. But the focus on women workers and their economic motivations fails to convey the full extent of the hopes and dreams unleashed by the

success of the February Revolution. While the role of food shortages and workplace dissatisfaction in provoking and fueling the February disorders should not be minimized, it does not fully explain women's activism on International Women's Day or subsequent days.

In 1917 there were a number of commemorations of International Women's Day on February 23. The organized demonstrations that surprised Balk and other tsarist officials involved women from different classes. Some events reflected coordination between radical students and workers. Bolshevik worker Anna Kostina, for example, remembered that a list of speakers for International Women's Day meetings had already been prepared. Requests to address these gatherings were funneled through the apartment of the Bestuzhev student Tolmacheva.<sup>42</sup> The demonstrations displeased many Social Democratic leaders. To these leaders, the women who marched were "ill-behaved," meaning that they did not listen to the orders of male party leaders. Accounts by party leaders in the Vyborg district, a Bolshevik stronghold, emphasize the female planners' insubordination. On February 22, for example, when a group of women workers met to plan the celebration, V. N. Kaiurov of the Bolshevik Petrograd Committee instructed them to avoid strikes or other isolated actions. Recalling the February events in 1923, Kaiurov wrote: "I myself had just the night before urged the women workers to show restraint and discipline, yet suddenly here was a strike. There seemed to be no purpose in it and no reason for it."<sup>43</sup> According to Trotsky and other observers, on February 23, "despite all directives, the women textile workers in several factories went on strike."<sup>44</sup>

There is no evidence that socialist leaders expected women to be the catalyst for revolution. Trotsky, in his history of the revolution, asserted that no major demonstrations had been planned by any socialist organizations for the women's holiday. Rather, it was to be marked "in a general manner: by meetings, speeches, leaflets."<sup>45</sup> Early Soviet histories emphasized the unplanned nature of the February Revolution; 1930s versions played up the role of the Bolsheviks. Some contemporary historians emphasize the "socialist preparation" for the February uprising; others maintain that the International Women's Day demonstrations burst spontaneously from below.<sup>46</sup> Either way, the role of women is dismissed quickly as historians move on to the "real actors" in the revolution, generally male workers or male organizers. There is little exploration of the reasons why women workers took to the streets and persisted in efforts to draw in male workers and soldiers.<sup>47</sup>

The Petersburg Mezhrayonny (Inter-District) Committee, an amalgam of Bolshevik conciliators, Menshevik internationalists, and supporters of Trotsky and Plekhanov, whose goal was reuniting the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, pro-

duced the sole extant International Women's Day leaflet, which was widely distributed. The lack of other leaflets may be a further indication that women workers were not a high priority, or it could have resulted simply from the technical problems of revolutionary groups. Bolshevik activist Alexander Shliapnikov claimed later that the Bolsheviks failed to produce an International Women's Day leaflet because their illegal press was broken.<sup>48</sup> Most historians who cite the Mezhraionny leaflet do not go beyond its initial slogans: "Down with the Autocracy! Long Live the Provisional Revolutionary Government! Down with the war! Long Live the Democratic Republic! Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat! Long live the united RSDLP!" The Mezhraionny leaflet continued the redefinition of the holiday, departing sharply from its original intent, focusing exclusively on class, not gender, and omitting any mention of suffrage. The holiday's original name, International Women's Day, became "Woman Workers Day," or the "Woman's 'May Day.'" <sup>49</sup>

Beyond these slogans the leaflet underscored concerns about the revolutionary aptitude of the female proletariat and the feminist threat to class unity. Women workers were still suspect, as "backward" elements of the proletariat susceptible to feminist siren songs of sex solidarity. Demonstrating distrust and condescension, the leaflet urged women workers to follow the lead of their proletarian brothers. Proletarian women had "only recently became part of the family of workers" and "often still are afraid, and don't know, what and how to make demands." The bosses exploit the "darkness and timidity" of the women workers. Exhibiting continuing anxiety about the loyalties and potential power of women workers, the leaflet urged them "don't hold back, women worker comrades, hold fast in solidarity with your remaining male comrades and join *with them* in common struggle with the government and factory owners."<sup>50</sup> The women, then, would join in the conflict already initiated by the male workers. In actuality, even if there had been "socialist preparation," the assumptions that the "backward" women would follow the lead of the male-dominated party and its agenda were belied by the spontaneous actions of the women workers, who took the lead in confronting factory bosses and tsarist soldiers.<sup>51</sup>

On the first day of the February Revolution, women put into practice their revolutionary lessons more thoroughly than did their male comrades. Seizing the initiative in the factories and in the streets, they demonstrated class solidarity by persuading their proletarian brothers to lay down their tools and join them.<sup>52</sup> Often it was the women who were bold, and the men hesitant. At the New Lessner factory the worker I. Gordienko recalled that on the morning of February 23,

he and others heard women's voices shouting: "Come on out! Quit working! Join us!"<sup>53</sup> When the workers did not respond quickly enough, the women threw snowballs and pieces of metal at the factory windows. Soon after, seventy-five hundred male workers left the factory. At the Aivaz Machine Factory women workers called a meeting at which they linked women's inequality and the demand for bread, asking the male workers to join them. Drowning out the voices of some moderate men, the women shouted, "Let's go home!" Together, all of the workers abandoned the factory.<sup>54</sup> These are but a few of the many stories of militant women overcoming the hesitations of male workers. The same was true of the disruption of transport, which began on February 23, and again demonstrated the anger and frustration of the masses. Here, groups of women took the lead, stopping trolleys, forcing passengers to leave, and smashing windows. The women on the streets were soon joined by the women conductors who had taken on this previously male work during the war, and who now joined the general strike.<sup>55</sup>

Gender played a part in the rebellion of the troops as well. A critical element in the success or failure of any revolution is the ability of those in authority to maintain the loyalty of those entrusted to keep order, even if it means firing at and killing demonstrators. In February 1917 soldiers refused to fire on protestors. Certainly war weariness and anger at the incompetence of tsarist authorities affected the troops, but another significant factor must be noted. The crowds facing the troops included many women. Examples from eyewitness accounts show how women's presence swayed soldiers from firing their guns. The Bolshevik woman worker Kruglova recalled the encounter of the workers of her factory with the soldiers of the Novocherkassk regiment and some Cossack troops. The Cossacks turned on the marchers, ready to charge. Their officer cried: "Who are you following? You're being led by a *baba* [an old hag, a peasant woman]!" Kruglova shouted back: "Not a *baba*, but a sister and wife of soldiers who are at the front." The Novocherkassk soldiers put their rifles down. Someone farther back in the crowd appealed to the Cossacks: "You are our brothers, you can't shoot us." At this the Cossacks turned their horses around. Here the appeal to a negative gender stereotype backfired, and the Cossack response, valorizing shared kinship ties, carried the day.<sup>56</sup>

On Nevskii Prospekt demonstrators faced another group of Cossacks. A young woman moved out of the crowd and walked toward the troops, carrying a package. Suddenly, she tore off the wrapping paper to reveal a bouquet of red roses, which she presented to the officer in charge. He took the flowers, to cries

of “Hurrah!” from the crowd.<sup>57</sup> Other accounts mention women successfully approaching soldiers, at their barracks, at barricades, in street confrontations, and pleading, cajoling, sometimes threatening them to lay down their arms. Trotsky noted the significance of the women’s actions: “They go up to the cordons more boldly than men, take hold of the rifles, beseech, almost command: ‘Put down your bayonets—join us.’”<sup>58</sup> Gender is important, whether weary and disaffected troops used the presence of women as an excuse for not firing or whether appeals to kinship proved compelling enough to cause the troops to lay down their arms.<sup>59</sup> In their boldness the women both defied and conformed to social norms. They were acting forcefully in the public sphere, challenging men in authority. As the scholar Choi Chatterjee has noted, in seeking to forestall violence, women fit the cultural stereotype and aided a rapprochement between two groups of men, soldiers and workers.<sup>60</sup>

Ironically, the very restrictions on women’s public presence and public roles may have given women a freedom that men lacked. Men occupied public space in the ruling bodies, both tsarist and oppositionist, in the Duma and the Soviets, as factory bosses and the majority of workers. The rarity of women’s agency in public space may have given them a greater sense of immunity from the worst excesses of state repression. They could be ill-behaved in public, emboldened by government reluctance to apply to them the level of brutality visited on men who challenged tsarist authority. At the same time, demands such as bread and peace fit gender norms. How could soldiers fire on women who were fighting not for themselves, but for their families, in the age-old tradition of female self-sacrifice?<sup>61</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of the February Revolution, anxiety about “backward” women, as expressed in the Mezhraionny leaflet, appeared to subside. Socialist papers praised women for initiating and moving events forward. The newly resurrected *Pravda* was clearest in acknowledging the revolution’s debt to women in an editorial published a week later:

The women were the first to come out on the streets of Petrograd on their Women’s Day.

The women in Moscow in many cases determined the mood of the military; they went to the barracks and convinced the soldiers to come over to the side of the Revolution.

Hail the women!<sup>62</sup>

Chatterjee has argued that the demonstrations on International Women’s Day were “the only day of the revolution during which women dominated the

urban space and set the political agenda.”<sup>63</sup> Women predominated in many of the February 23 demonstrations; they helped lay the groundwork for the subsequent events leading to the revolution’s triumph. The tactics developed by women workers, workers laying down their tools, approaches to the Cossacks, and stopping public transport were key to the spreading demonstrations that brought down the tsarist government.<sup>64</sup> Women continued to move events forward and not only on February 23. The historians Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar have shown how at different points in 1917 women “did not simply instigate the revolution but contributed significantly to maintaining its momentum.”<sup>65</sup> As democratic institutions emerged from the tsarist rubble, this momentum soon included demands for women’s rights.

Although feminist leaders joined in the general euphoria, enthusiastically supporting the toppling of the tsar, past experience with liberal and left politicians made them wary. Pokrovskaia wrote: “Long live freedom! Russia has suddenly turned a new page in her history and inscribed on it: Freedom!” She also added a sober note. This was only the first step; the old regime had tumbled, but the establishment of real freedom still lay ahead, and it would be difficult. At such a great moment it was hard to believe but still possible that the legacy of the past would prevail in relation to women’s rights.<sup>66</sup>

Pokrovskaia’s fears initially proved well founded. Women had played a significant role in hastening the fall of the Romanovs, but those newly in power hesitated about giving them the vote. In revolutionary Petrograd two bodies, the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, claimed authority from February to October. Both met in the same building, the former home of the Duma, the Tauride Palace. The Petrograd Soviet, showing an initial cautiousness, issued a general statement supporting a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage, without clarifying whether eligible voters included women.<sup>67</sup> Soon after, on March 9, the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet published a statement supporting women’s suffrage in the upcoming Constituent Assembly elections. But it was not clear what this really meant in practical terms, as Soviet leaders did not indicate how they would implement this statement.<sup>68</sup>

The Provisional Government proved more resistant. The new leaders had acted immediately on some issues, abolishing the Jewish quotas, lifting restrictions on Finnish autonomy, and freeing political prisoners, but their March 3, 1917, program made no mention of women’s suffrage. Pokrovskaia approached government ministers, but to no avail. Another opportunity presented itself when

Minister of Justice Alexander Kerensky, the only socialist in the government, made his first official visit to Moscow on March 7. At a meeting of the Moscow Committee of Public Organizations (*Moskovskii komitet obshchestvennykh organizatsii*), Maria Chekhova, the Moscow Women's League delegate, questioned Kerensky about the Provisional Government's commitment to give women the vote. The minister stated his support of equal rights: "I am a partisan of complete equality of rights for women and will defend it within the Government." At the same meeting Kerensky announced his intention to sign an order abolishing the death penalty, but neither he nor any of the other new ministers were willing to use their power to implement women's equal rights.<sup>69</sup>

The thirteen-day difference between Russia's traditional calendar and the Western calendar provided the possibility of celebrating International Women's Day again, this time in a newly revolutionary country. Following up on her interchange with Kerensky, Chekhova raised the issue of his response and the Provisional Government's policy at a March 8 League meeting commemorating International Women's Day. Those present voted to have Chekhova send a follow-up telegram to Kerensky on that day, stating in respectful but firm language that they would continue to demand full female suffrage and that the League stood ready to mobilize the necessary "womanpower" to accomplish that goal for the Constituent Assembly elections. Interviewed on March 11, Kerensky again stated that women's suffrage would have to wait until the Constituent Assembly, that this was too vast a change to undertake immediately.<sup>70</sup>

As part of the widespread postrevolutionary fervor for implementing democratic reforms, the cause of suffrage resonated across class and gender barriers. Access to the ballot was an issue of interest not only to educated women, but also to female workers and peasants. Workers attending the Narva Evening Classes decided to spend the rest of their term discussing contemporary political and social questions, including women's rights. Demonstrations by women workers in early March included demands for suffrage. On March 5, women from four factories held a meeting at which they called for their sisters to unite with their proletarian brothers and fight for women's rights, among other issues. On the same day a meeting of twelve hundred credit union employees, after heated debate, passed four resolutions, the second of which called for Constituent Assembly elections based on universal suffrage "without distinction of sex."<sup>71</sup>

March 8 occasioned demonstrations by women workers at the City and State Dumas. The Menshevik party newspaper *Rabochaia gazeta* (Workers gazette) reported that "a vast army of working women from factories in the Moskovskii and



Porokhovaia districts . . . appeared at the City Duma to declare their demands for women's electoral rights." Women workers, perhaps from the same march, also demonstrated in front of the State Duma with banners demanding female suffrage.<sup>72</sup> Strong opposition to the feminists did not necessarily translate into rejection of suffrage. Votes for women was an issue in the Vyborg district, a Bolshevik stronghold and the origination point for the main socialist International Women's Day demonstration in February. A March 12 rally of eight hundred women workers adopted the Bolshevik program for women and stated its opposition to the "bourgeois women's movement." But the rally also had as its first demand full voting rights for women.<sup>73</sup>

Women's role in the revolution became an important argument in the arsenal of women's rights supporters on the left. Prompt action on women's rights was not decried as a frivolous demand of "privileged women" but as a natural consequence of women's courageous actions in sparking the initial demonstrations and then moving revolutionary events forward. The first issue of the *Workers Gazette* on March 6, 1917, noted that although during the revolution women had faced police bullets, no women had as yet been elected to the Petrograd Soviet.<sup>74</sup> Early issues of *Pravda* reported on women workers' demands for equal rights and linked them to the revolution. On March 10, an article by Anna Elizarova-Ulianova, writing under the pseudonym "Olga Bobyleva," linked the history of Russian women and women workers' development from 1905 to 1917 with the struggle for suffrage. She took pains to emphasize the great strides made by working women, the "light of consciousness" awakened by the 1905 revolution, carefully including the usual exhortations to female workers to join with their male comrades in common struggle. But she noted that more and more women no longer just followed men, or joined hands with them, but "independently, on their own initiative, began to work in the revolution, to learn on their own."<sup>75</sup> The February Revolution was initiated by women; they had proven themselves. To Elizarova-Ulianova, each woman "needs the right to participate equally with men in elections, the right to be elected to the Constituent Assembly, to city councils and to district and rural organizations. She needs the right to study and hold all government positions for which she is qualified, and to receive equal pay."<sup>76</sup>

Alexandra Kollontai repeated this theme in her first article in *Pravda* after her return from exile on March 18, asking: "Weren't we women first out on the streets? Why now . . . does the freedom won by the heroic proletariat of both sexes, by the soldiers and soldiers wives, ignore half the population of liberated Russia?"<sup>77</sup> Kollontai thus added her voice to those arguing that granting women equal rights

would complete the revolution. Suffrage as an issue resonated among both women and men, and all over revolutionary Russia. Meetings demanding women's suffrage were so popular that at some places the halls had to be emptied three times to accommodate all those who wished to hear the speakers. Women workers in Kostroma and Iaroslavl, in the Russian heartland, joined equal rights organizations. In Siberia an Irkutsk meeting of three thousand women and men sent a telegram to the Provisional Government demanding full electoral rights for women in the Constituent Assembly. Typical was a call to women in Khabarovsk, Siberia, to "take part in the creation of a free Russia," unite, and form a women's union. At one of the many meetings, a union of soldiers' wives emerged. Slogans supporting women's suffrage appeared at a number of large demonstrations.<sup>78</sup>

Not all on the left were eager to have women vote. Some still echoed the belief that women would be more conservative than men. In *Zhenskoe delo*, Maria Ancharova reported that a progressive male friend had quipped, "If you want to restore the monarchy, give women the vote."<sup>79</sup> At a meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee on March 15, a delegate from Kiev similarly claimed that women would vote to reinstate the tsar. At the April 2 All-Russian Conference of Soviets, Serov, a delegate from Vologda, claimed that "most women are still weeping for Nicholas II."<sup>80</sup> In fact, a growing number of women began to see the connections between their economic situation and the need for political rights. Women's League activist Olga Zakuta noted that at early meetings after the February Revolution orators primarily emphasized raising women's economic status, but with time, more of those at the rallies "became staunch supporters of women's participation in the Constituent Assembly."<sup>81</sup>

Dissatisfaction over the failure of the Provisional Government to act quickly and decisively on the issue of suffrage led to the second major foray of women into the public arena, on March 19, 1917. The Women's League organized the largest women's demonstration in Russian history, demanding suffrage. A more detailed look at the demonstration provides further reason to question a number of commonly held beliefs about the revolution and Russian feminism. Much has been made, for example, of the split between the Soviet and the Provisional Government from February through October. But in the immediate postrevolutionary period the Provisional Government and the Soviet agreed that the issue of women's place in the new revolutionary society had to wait. While endorsing the concept of universal suffrage, and issuing many proclamations supporting civil rights and civil liberties, both explicitly refused to support votes for women. Both dueling governing authorities, the Soviet and the Provisional Government, had to be

forced by the marchers and their leaders explicitly to support women's suffrage. That the marchers insisted on a change in suffrage policy and won further challenges the notion that Russian feminists eschewed militant policies and tactics.

A look at the demonstration in detail provides more insight into the mood of the marchers and the results of their action. Seeking wide support, Shishkina-Iavein spearheaded an effort that resulted in ninety organizations sponsoring the demonstration. A rally at the Petrograd City Duma—at which E. V. Gorovits-Vlasova, Lidiia Doroshevskaia, Anna Kal'manovich, Marina Korsh, Alexandra Krauze, Marina Luchinskaia, Alexandra Rabinovich, Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein, Stefaniia Shabad, Ekaterina Shehepkina, and Olga Zakuta were among a long list of speakers—began the day. The march gathered steam as a long line, mostly women, moved down Petrograd's main street, Nevskii Prospekt, and headed toward the headquarters of both the Provisional Government and the Soviet, at the Tauride Palace. Written accounts, augmented by photos and a newsreel, show the cross-class nature of the march. Those wearing hats (signifying more affluent women) and those wearing kerchiefs (the head coverings of female workers and peasants) mingled freely in the crowd.<sup>82</sup> Attempts to disrupt the marchers' unity did not succeed. The demonstration was peaceful except when a Bolshevik activist, possibly Kollontai, tried to address the women workers in the crowd. Suspicious that she would use the occasion to rekindle feminist-socialist animosities, some demonstrators pushed the speaker off the steps of the Tauride Palace. Kollontai angrily chastised Vera Figner for sitting in her car and doing nothing to support the Bolsheviks' right to free speech.<sup>83</sup>

The marchers were determined. Shishkina-Iavein led the crowd in demanding that representatives of both the Soviet and the Provisional Government meet with them and explain their stands on women's rights. In the fluid situation of the first weeks after the revolution, the Soviet and Provisional Government leaders had few options. The use of force against a women's march so soon after the revolution was unthinkable and impossible. The soldiers guarding the Tauride Palace bantered with the demonstrators; the city police, stretched thin, specially deputized a women's brigade to monitor the march.<sup>84</sup> Still, the political leaders hesitated. Figner and Shishkina-Iavein sought the support both of the Soviet and the Provisional Government, but they first went to meet with the leaders of the Soviet. While hailing Figner as a fighter for freedom, M. I. Skobelev of the Soviet, claimed he could not support the marchers' demands without consulting with other leaders. The crowd waited, finally demanding that Nikolai Chkeidze, the chair of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, and Mikhail Rodzianko,

president of the Duma, come out together to meet with them. At first Skobelev demurred, saying that Chkeidze had lost his voice.<sup>85</sup>

Crowd members, knowing that already that day Chkeidze had addressed a sailors' demonstration, refused to leave, shouting that the Soviet leader, without speaking, could indicate his assent with a simple nod of his head. Despite the late hour and the worsening weather, the demonstrators waited. After a long time Chkeidze and Rodzianko emerged. Shishkina-Iavein addressed them, citing Figner's presence and linking the suffrage march to the general revolutionary struggle: "Women were your true comrades in the gigantic struggle for the freedom of the Russian people." Referring to Western democracies, where the term "universal suffrage" did not include women, she argued that Russia could be in the vanguard. Finally, Chkeidze promised to support women's rights, for "in a free Russia we cannot allow women to remain slaves without rights." Crowd members responded: "With whom must we fight now?"<sup>86</sup>

Having won over the leader of the Soviet, the crowd renewed its demands to Rodzianko, again resolving to remain until the issue was resolved. "We don't need benevolent promises. We need a clear and official answer," stated Shishkina-Iavein firmly. "We won't leave here until we receive an answer."<sup>87</sup> Rodzianko, still hesitant, suggested that the demonstrators appeal directly to Prince L'vov, the head of the Provisional Government. Shishkina-Iavein and Figner went inside to meet with him. Crowd members outside argued with the soldiers guarding the building, who thought the women's march was too precipitous. For a long time L'vov refused the demands of the women, saying that the electoral rules had already been announced and could not be revised. In the end he relented, however, agreeing that the term "universal suffrage" would include women.<sup>88</sup>

Two days later, on March 21, a delegation of women from Petrograd and Moscow, representing a cross section of feminist leaders from the intelligentsia, members of the nonparty left, and liberals, met with L'vov. The feminist factions were now unified; the delegation included Figner and Shishkina-Iavein, Shabanova, Miliukova and Tyrkova, Olga K. Nechaeva of the Russian Union of Democratic Women's Organisations, Pokrovskaja, the philanthropist Countess Sofia Panina, the only female in the Provisional Government cabinet, A. N. Rinkevich, Alexandra Kalmykova, an early patron of Legal Marxism, and Dr. M. I. Nikol'skaia and E. V. Gorovits, representatives of Moscow women.<sup>89</sup> No women workers or party-affiliated socialists were among the delegates. Figner presented L'vov with a brief statement about women's rights and asked for a formal clarification of the Provisional Government's position on the issue. L'vov assured the delegation that the

ministers unanimously favored female suffrage and that a law providing full political equality for women was being drafted. The women were jubilant. Exulted Pokrovskaja: "Long live the free and equal citizeness!"<sup>90</sup>

Why did the Provisional Government leaders capitulate after one demonstration, when in many of the established Western democracies countless suffrage demonstrations had achieved so little? Several factors played their part. Unlike politicians in many of the older democracies, neither the Provisional Government nor the Soviet leaders were in principle anti-women's suffrage. Even those who, like Miliukov, initially opposed the female vote, had long since changed their positions. Support for women's rights had become standard in the platforms of socialist and other left parties. And even more conservative members of the government, like Rodzianko, recognized that women's suffrage was part of what defined the modern state.<sup>91</sup>

The struggle was not over. Returning to Petrograd the day before the suffrage march, Kollontai had no time to exert any control over it, if that were even possible. But she now resumed her antifeminist attacks. Writing on the same day as the feminists' meeting with L'vov, Kollontai downplayed the achievement of the "bourgeois little ladies of the League for Women's Equal Rights," relying on the promises of Rodzianko. Proletarian women, she argued, could not rely on bourgeois women for their rights; rights were not given, "rights are always won through struggle." She omitted to mention the promises of the Soviet leader Chkeidze.<sup>92</sup> Kollontai still had to confront opposition within her own party. While some Bolshevik activists broke up other groups' women's meetings, separate organizing for women remained controversial in the party. Concerned about feminist successes in mobilizing women workers and soldiers' wives, Kollontai wanted to move forward immediately on work with women. Joined by Vera Slutskaja, party leaders responded negatively. The April Petrograd party conference refused even to consider the "woman question" because female suffrage was not yet law.<sup>93</sup>

It was a nonparty Marxist who intervened to ensure that L'vov's promises were kept. At this juncture Ekaterina Kuskova, who had often been critical of the feminist leaders, played a key role. At the All-Russian Congress of Women in Moscow on April 7, Kuskova warned the delegates that Minister of Justice Kerensky still was not ready to include women in the Provisional Government's electoral law. She then spearheaded the adoption of a resolution demanding a special decree ensuring women's suffrage. Further along in the congress, Kuskova led the successful fight for a resolution demanding a place for women on the electoral

commission. Again, the Provisional Government leaders acquiesced easily to the women's demands. As a result, two Women's League members sat on the electoral commission when it began its meetings at the end of May and the electoral law of July 20 ratified the right of Russian women to vote and run for office in the upcoming Constituent Assembly elections.<sup>94</sup>

The absence of key revolutionary leaders also played a part in the swiftness of the feminist victory. During March, Lenin and other prominent Bolsheviks were in exile. In the immediate aftermath of the revolution there was more co-operation among the factions. The Bolsheviks in Russia advocated policies close to those of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. Kollontai served as Lenin's initial messenger for his effort to reassert control of party policies. Returning to Petrograd in March, she brought with her the first two of Lenin's "Letters from Afar," which argued against supporting the Provisional Government. Lenin and Kollontai of course supported women's suffrage as a progressive reform, but from the moment of her arrival, Kollontai devoted her energies to turning back support for feminism among women workers and soldiers' wives. In particular, the soldiers' wives, who had played an important role in the February Revolution, alarmed Kollontai by their alliance with feminist groups. But as was shown by her or other Bolshevik efforts on March 19, she was too late to exert any control over the suffrage march.<sup>95</sup>

Finally, Provisional Government leaders, seeking support for a continuation of Russia's involvement in the war, may have seen concessions to women as part of enhancing the war effort. Soon after the suffrage victory, Rodzianko approached Maria Bochkareva about starting a women's battalion. Buoyed by their new equal status, some women responded to appeals to adopt the full range of citizenship roles. Recruitment for the Women's Battalion emphasized women's new rights and obligations as citizens. As the historian Melissa Stockdale has noted, many of the women drawn to soldiering interpreted their new equality as meaning "that women could and should assume the citizen's right to bear arms." Nina Krylova, a member of the Women's Battalion led by Bochkareva, directly connected her service with her new rights: "The [February] Revolution had already happened. Woman had won for herself rights of which she had been deprived during the course of millennia—the rights of an equal member of society." Having gained the promise of full citizenship, many feminist leaders tied the cause of equal rights to Allied victory. They organized a number of meetings, dedicated to both equal rights and solidarity for the military effort. At Shabanova's invitation the British suffragists Emmeline Pankhurst and Jessie Kenney were dispatched by Prime

Minister Lloyd George to help support the war effort. Pankhurst spoke before at least one feminist pro-war meeting while in Russia.<sup>96</sup>

Shabanova hosted a dinner at the swank Astoria Hotel for Pankhurst and Bochkareva, took the British feminist leader to the Women's Battalion barracks and to several patriotic rallies as well as to the consecration of the battalion's colors at Petrograd's St. Isaac's Cathedral. Shishkina-Iavein and other Women's League members also joined in honoring the battalion, organizing a salute to the soldiers at the Kazan Cathedral before they decamped for the front.<sup>97</sup>

Throughout this period the feminists continued their efforts to link up with prominent revolutionary heroines. Figner had been in the forefront of the March 19 suffrage demonstration. At the All-Russian Congress of Women in Moscow on April 7, the first postrevolutionary feminist gathering, Figner was joined in attendance by the Socialist Revolutionaries Breshko-Breshkovskaia and Spiridonova as well as the Marxist Vera Zasulich. At the congress Shishkina-Iavein spearheaded the formation of a new coalition group, the Republican Union of Democratic Women's Organizations (*Respublikanskii soiuz demokraticheskikh zhenskikh organizatsii*). With a program of support for the war, land for the peasants, and progressive labor reform, the Republican Union reflected the priorities of many of the radical democratic Provisional Government and Soviet leaders.<sup>98</sup>

Shabanova was finally able to realize the dream, shared with Anna Filosofova, of a unified Russian women's organization. In April she happily announced the formation of a National Council of Russian Women, writing to Lady Aberdeen and others at the International Council of Women and enclosing a copy of the organization's charter. The Provisional Government approved the National Council in May 1917. As if to complete his turnabout, Paul Miliukov served as the organization's first president. The thirty-chapter council did meet once, in December 1917, before it and all autonomous feminist organizations were forced by the Bolsheviks to cease their operations.<sup>99</sup>

Women proved to be major beneficiaries of Provisional Government policies as the government acted to establish equal rights in a range of areas. Government ministers granted women's suffrage in municipal elections almost immediately. As a result, a number of women were elected to city and zemstvo councils. In the field of education a law of April 24, 1917, declared coeducation in *gimnaziia*, *progimnaziia*, and other schools, and made women and men teachers equal in rights and privileges. Women were allowed to be jurors and admitted to legal practice and the civil service on an equal footing with men. For children and female workers the government imposed restrictions on night work. Such decrees

placed Russia ahead of most other countries in its laws about women, but much remained to be done. No sweeping equal rights code emerged, laws on marriage and the family remained unchanged, and the registration of prostitutes continued.<sup>100</sup>

### The Constituent Assembly Elections

On October 24 the Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government. For most historians this is the end of the story of women's suffrage, or democracy in general, as "under a one-party system, the right to vote had little political substance."<sup>101</sup> But the imposition of one-party rule took time. In the initial post-October period the direction of the revolution was not so clear. Hopeful for a popular mandate, Lenin permitted the Constituent Assembly elections to be held, beginning on November 12 and extending through most of that month. Women taking to the streets powerfully influenced the course of events in 1917, but these actions, although they had ramifications for the entire country, initially took place in Petrograd. Voting affected all Russian women over the age of twenty. The mostly anecdotal evidence indicates that women took their new voting responsibilities seriously and that the opportunity to vote was embraced by members of all classes.

How did the parties react? Left and liberal party platforms were notable for their initial lack of attention to the issue of women's rights. The Socialist Revolutionaries did not mention women at all; the Mensheviks promised equal rights for both sexes, and special restrictions on women's work; the Bolsheviks did not publish a platform. In general, of the five thousand candidates on the ballots, women were no more than a handful.<sup>102</sup> Few women appeared on the national candidates' lists for the parties. Of the twenty-six candidates proposed by the Bolshevik Central Committee as mandatory, to be included on all of its party electoral lists, only one, Kollontai, was a woman. Of the 118 recommended candidates, 7 were women (Nadezhda Krupskaya, Maria Ulianova, Elena Rozmirovich, Elena Stasova, Varvara Iakovleva, N. Ostrovskaia, and Liudmila Menzhinskaia). Of the 58 mandatory Socialist Revolutionary candidates, there were 4 women (Breshko-Breshkovskaia, Evgeniia Ratner, Spiridonova, and Figner).

The Trudoviks did not run one mandatory female candidate, although Shishkina-Iaevin was active in the party and Liubov Gurevich was nominated for the Central Committee. Both participated in the joint meeting uniting the Trudoviki and the Popular Socialist parties on June 21–22, 1917.<sup>103</sup> Feminists got short shrift from the group that had been their strongest supporters in the Duma.



The *Zhenskoe delo* editors angrily reported on the September 26–29 Popular Socialists Congress in Moscow, held to discuss tactics for the Constituent Assembly electoral campaign. In their lead editorial, “Still One More Injustice,” they condemned yet another attack on women as fully equal citizens in “the world’s freest country,” and this from their supposed closest allies, “true-believing socialists.” The Popular Socialist Central Committee had selected an electoral list of thirty mandatory candidates, all male, including many of the elder statesmen of the populist movement, such as Venedikt Miakotin and Nikolai Chaikovskii. When one delegate, probably Shishkina-Iavein, protested, the congress majority failed to support her, and she was forced to withdraw her objection. Condemning this “celebration of male egoism,” the *Zhenskoe delo* editors claimed that “women voters will scarcely agree to vote for such an exclusively ‘male’ party.”<sup>104</sup>

The Women’s League fielded a feminist slate. Those on the list included Shishkina-Iavein, Chekhova, Kuskova, Shchepkina, Liubov Gurevich, the populist historians Alexandra Efimenko and Alexandra Kalmykova, Women’s Medical Institute instructor Gorolits-Vlasova, a physician from Kiev, and a trade union activist. A list for the Women’s Union for Aid to the Homeland (*Zhenskii soiuz pomoshchi rodine*) also was posted in Petrograd.<sup>105</sup> Efforts to influence female voters took many forms, from gentle persuasion to intimidation. As the elections drew near, armed and radicalized soldiers traveled around to many villages, threatening to destroy crops, homes, and livestock if peasants did not vote Bolshevik. A Riazan Province priest reported that peasant women who sought his advice “cast fearful glances over their shoulders.” In Tambov Province a Socialist Revolutionary activist reported that Bolshevik soldiers had threatened soldiers’ wives, saying: “If you don’t vote for No. 7 [the Bolshevik list in that province] just wait till your mate gets home—he’ll beat the hell out of you!” In Pskov Province male peasants beat up the local priest for influencing village women to vote for “the class enemy.”<sup>106</sup>

The Bolsheviks did not hold a monopoly on intimidation; neither did men. Schoolteachers, often female, sometimes sought to influence votes. In Samara Province, for example, the schoolteacher Bolshakova, teaming with the local priest, grabbed Bolshevik lists from peasants’ hands and threatened their arrest if they protested. Despite such efforts, one Socialist Revolutionary observer claimed that women accounted for much of the rural Bolshevik vote, in part because they viewed the Bolsheviks as most likely to bring their men home from the war.<sup>107</sup> Appeals to women voters extended across many constituencies. The potential for increasing vote tallies and political influence by capturing the female

vote led to the balancing of tradition with the new reality. The All-Russian Muslim Soviet passed a resolution stating that “going to the ballot box is a moral duty for every woman.” But the resolution also mandated that “the votes of the men and the women must be separated and the votes tallied.” The new Bolshevik government initially refused to heed this resolution, but objections from the leaders of the Muslim Soviet caused them to authorize separate voting days for women and men.<sup>108</sup>

Some women were confused by their new rights. Pauline Crosley, married to a U.S. diplomat, wrote to a friend about “the suffrage being suddenly given to women here. So far as I can learn it was not asked for by the women, but one morning they woke up to learn that they could vote.” According to Crosley, her maid, who was literate, “tried to learn from me what it really meant ‘to vote.’”<sup>109</sup> Others, overwhelmed by the difficulties of their lives, resisted any involvement in politics. Tver’ women mocked voter mobilization efforts: “Girls, with democrats don’t gad about. / Democrats will only teach you / To read proclamations through and through.”<sup>110</sup>

The Constituent Assembly elections were the first elections in which adult women could vote and run for office, the freest elections ever held in Russia until after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. More than forty million votes were cast.<sup>111</sup> The voter participation rate has been estimated by the historian Oliver Radkey as about 55 percent. This is remarkable, given the chaos and uncertainty of the period immediately after the Bolshevik seizure of power in October.<sup>112</sup> What about women’s turnout? Women’s low participation rate in the municipal elections did not bode well. In these first elections in which women took part, they encountered resistance, especially in rural areas. In Platonovka, in Kozeletskii district, and in several other villages, women were turned away from polling places. In the village of Novo-Troitskii, Berdianskii district, in Tavricheskii Province, male peasants went one step further, nullifying the first election in which women took part and holding a second one only for men.<sup>113</sup>

Undaunted, in the Constituent Assembly elections women turned out in much larger numbers. In urban areas they represented more than half the voters. The legal scholar Mark Vishniak, critical of the Provisional Government’s delay in setting up the elections and holding the Constituent Assembly, claimed that the time lag had one positive effect. By the time of the balloting, women’s suffrage was “indisputable.”<sup>114</sup> The female turnout surpassed that of men in the cities, by 54 percent to 47 percent. In rural areas problems with men blocking women’s vote surfaced. Some peasant men forbade women to vote. In Tomsk Province one

peasant assembly decreed that “under no circumstances are women to vote; in each family the head should vote for the entire family.”<sup>115</sup>

Despite all the obstacles to their voting in the countryside, peasant women's turnout was high by any standard. The percentage of female voters reached 70 percent; the male total was 77 percent. Among non-Russian nationalities the turnout was also high. In urban areas like Baku the number of Muslim women voting totaled 77 percent, with overwhelming majorities for the Muslims of Russia list.<sup>116</sup> These figures compare favorably with statistics for the first national election in which U.S. women voted. In that presidential contest the female turnout averaged about 37 percent; men's turnout averaged about 55 percent.<sup>117</sup>

The sources do not agree on the vote tally for the feminist list. Radkey gives a total of 7,676 votes, 5,310 votes from Petrograd and 2,366 from the Pskov electoral district. L. M. Spirin's total of 5,628 includes a list apparently not counted by Radkey. While infinitesimal in an over-40-million-vote total, it is remarkable that such a slate emerged at all, especially after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd. At least one feminist ran on a traditional party slate. Tyrkova, on the Kadet list in Novgorod, was defeated by a Bolshevik slate that included Trotsky. In all, 10 of the 767 deputies elected were women. They included the Bolsheviks Evgeniia Bosh, Elena Rozmirovich, Kollontai, and Varvara Iakovleva and the Socialist Revolutionaries Breshko-Breshkovskaia, Figner, Spiridonova, M. D. Perveva, O. A. Matveevskaia. Anastasia Slétova, “one of the key figures in the Socialist Revolutionary organization in the black-earth zone” and the wife of the party leader Victor Chernov, was elected a deputy from Tambov Province. On January 5, 1918, the opening day of its session, the ten women sat in the great hall of the Tauride Palace along with their male colleagues, as if this were a perfectly normal occurrence. The great hopes for Russia's first fully representative parliament were quickly dashed. Sitting with Lenin in the balcony, Kollontai watched as Bolshevik sailors, led by her lover Pavel Dybenko, dispersed the Constituent Assembly after its initial session.<sup>118</sup>

With the Bolshevik triumph in October, feminist organizations and feminist journals disappeared, as the new Soviet government closed any autonomous independent groups and publications.<sup>119</sup> Although suffrage for both women and men meant little in the Soviet era, when most elections had one candidate for each office, the government went to great lengths to maintain the democratic trappings and ensure that everyone voted. Voting may have been merely a formality, but it was part of the definition of the modern state.

Once in power, the Bolsheviks claimed ownership of the suffrage victory, as part of their overall effort to take credit for all women's liberation achievements and efface and demean the work of the feminists. In an August 1921 letter smuggled out of Russia to Anna Backer, corresponding secretary of the International Council of Women, Anna Shabanova praised "the immense progress realized for women workers." She noted angrily that the leadership of educated women like herself ("now called bourgeois") in organizing the March 19 demonstration and winning the right to vote from the Provisional Government was now invisible. This was understandable in the Bolshevik version of history, but even suffragists had adopted this narrative. Shabanova, puzzled by her friends' acquiescence in rendering invisible their Russian sisters, wrote to set the record straight.<sup>120</sup>

What is the role of the war in the Russian suffrage victory? More women won the right to vote during and after the Great War, but historians differ about the role of the war as a causal factor in these suffrage victories. Some argue that emphasizing the war as the agent of change for women minimizes the role of generations of feminist activists; others note that major combatant countries resisted giving the vote to women, while neutral countries provided some of the earliest suffrage victories.<sup>121</sup> The war certainly hastened the collapse of the Russian Empire, and it did the same for Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. But in each of these cases the transition from monarchy to democracy, whether through violent or peaceful revolution, was key to winning women suffrage. Of the fallen empires Russia paved the way for women in 1917; Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, and Poland followed in 1918, and Turkey in 1930.<sup>122</sup> There are clear similarities between the Provisional Government's electoral law and those of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, and Republican Spain (1931), as well as England's 1918 law providing limited women's suffrage.<sup>123</sup>

Did women across Russia care about such rights? Certainly the level of voter turnout for the Constituent Assembly elections indicates that voting was an issue of importance to the female masses as well as the elites. Once suffrage became law in July 1917, Russian women in urban and rural areas voted in large numbers. In so doing, they became pioneers not only in their own country but also in the world, as the citizens of the first major power to approve women's suffrage. The February Revolution, then, both reflected and unleashed the expectations leading to a democratic revolution that extended political rights to both sexes, something the French and American revolutions had not done. This was a significant step toward a gender-neutral concept of citizenship for the modern nation-state.<sup>124</sup>

The Russian suffrage victory was the result of a number of factors. First, the February Revolution was essential in creating the conditions for this breakthrough. Women could not have won suffrage under tsarist rule. As was clear from the resistance even to the granting of limited suffrage to women, the tsarist regime had, if anything, hardened its opposition to all but the most limited of women's rights. Second, political opposition to women's suffrage among liberals and moderate male politicians had disappeared. Paul Miliukov, the major liberal opponent of women's suffrage, had even before the war actively supported women's suffrage in the Duma and in other venues. Although the Provisional Government did not include women's suffrage in its original program, its temporizing on this issue quickly evaporated in the face of one not-especially-large demonstration. Third, the victory was due ultimately to women's agency. The feminist cadre that had consistently advocated and struggled for women's rights since 1905 remained largely intact and had been strengthened by the emergence of effective new leaders such as Shishkina-lavein. The feminists had reached out to and succeeded in finding sympathizers among the female urban masses, workers, domestic servants, and soldiers' wives. Pictures of demonstrations in 1917 show working-class women carrying banners demanding equal rights; the suffrage demonstration had to have included women besides the feminists' *intelligentki* base, which could not have numbered anywhere close to forty thousand women for the entire country, much less Petrograd alone.<sup>125</sup>

Some foreign feminists attributed the Russian achievement solely to the military conflict. A report to the Executive Board of the National Council of Women of the U.S.A. on December 8, 1917, claimed that "the war has brought suffrage victory to the women of England, Canada, Russia, and Denmark."<sup>126</sup> That the war by itself led to the granting of women's suffrage is highly debatable. Other protagonists did not grant women suffrage during or after World War I. U.S. women finally won the vote two years after the end of the war, and then only by a margin of one vote. British women won partial suffrage through the law of February 6, 1918, but this law, while granting the vote to women and men over thirty, excluded five million out of twelve million women to "compensate" for the male combatants lost in the war. British women won full suffrage only in 1928. In Austria and Germany women's suffrage came only after the collapse of monarchic rule, in both cases at the end of 1918. French women gained suffrage only toward the end of the Second World War, in 1944.<sup>127</sup> War in Russia certainly hastened the demise of the autocracy, but it was the sentiments unleashed by a revolution

sparked by demonstrations on a women's holiday that won the vote for Russian women.

In the United States in the same period the Russian suffrage victory inspired feminists, but the U.S. entry into the war on April 6, 1917, may have delayed suffrage progress. Russian women's winning the vote in March was noted by the National Woman's Party demonstrators holding vigils at the White House entrance since January 10, 1917. The picketers displayed signs declaring "Democracy Should Begin at Home," comparing "Kaiser Wilson" to "free Russia."<sup>128</sup> By 1917 only one of President Wilson's cabinet heads remained antisuffrage. Once in the war the U.S. administration reacted quite differently than the Provisional Government had to feminist militants. U.S. entry into the Great War brought tough government actions against free speech; among the first to be targeted were the suffrage demonstrators at the White House. After months of ignoring the mostly peaceful demonstrations, in June 1917 the government began applying harsher wartime measures against dissent. The suffragists standing at the White House were arrested and jailed. Joining the British in war, U.S. authorities also emulated the British treatment of militant women by force-feeding them. Suffrage historian Eleanor Flexner considers the jailed women as "among the earliest victims in this country of the abrogation of civil liberties in wartime."<sup>129</sup>

Women's suffrage (the vote and the right to hold elective office) is one of the great democratic reforms of the twentieth century. If suffrage did not achieve as much as had been hoped for, this should not diminish the significance of the struggle.<sup>130</sup> There is a direct link between the events of February 1917, when Petrograd women took to the streets on International Women's Day to spark the revolution, the March suffrage demonstration, and the July electoral law that granted full democratic rights to Russian women. Russian feminists thus achieved their chief goal before the Provisional Government was swept away by the October Bolshevik Revolution. Indeed, women's suffrage is among the few lasting achievements of the Provisional Government.<sup>131</sup>

## Twelve Years of Struggle

Hail the Women!

—*Maria Pokrovskaia, 1917*

THE ACHIEVEMENT of women's suffrage is one of the most significant democratic reforms of the twentieth century and represents an advance in the ongoing feminist struggle for equal rights. Female suffrage is now a fact in almost all countries in the world, save for a few holdouts among the absolute monarchies of the Middle East. The Russian case is thus part of a larger discussion about the significance of the women's suffrage reform in any society.

Women's suffrage had its opponents on the right and on the left. And they have been strange bedfellows—rightists who feared that women's suffrage would radicalize the electorate, leftists who feared that women would vote for conservatives, and both who claimed to fear a peasant male backlash. Those who question the efficacy of giving women universal suffrage rarely do so in discussing universal male suffrage. For the history of women the suffrage victory in the Russian Empire is significant for several reasons. It challenges the assumption that the attainment of suffrage happened first in Western democracies and that democracy was a prerequisite for women's suffrage. It offers a case study in the winning of

women's suffrage in a society in which government was not stable and which endured revolutions, war, and social turmoil.

Revolutions have served as impediments to women's rights, as was the case with the French Revolution. But in Russia the revolutions of 1905 and February 1917 served instead as catalysts for women's activism. The 1905 revolution impelled women into the public sphere to fight for their rights. Finnish women won suffrage as part of a national independence revolt against Russian authority. The February Revolution began with women's demonstrations on International Women's Day. While these revolutions increased the hopes for greater rights, they brought challenges that had to be overcome. The toppling of the tsar did not in itself bring the hoped-for democratic freedoms for women. The dual authorities, the Soviets and the Provisional Government, that emerged with the end of the autocracy both temporized on women's suffrage. The war and the revolution alone did not bring women the vote. These events created the opportunity, but ultimately women had to act to push their demands forward.<sup>1</sup>

The revolutions in the Russian Empire in the early twentieth century are notable as the first revolutions to extend the definition of democratic citizenship to include women. In both Finland and Russia struggles against an entrenched autocracy created the conditions for pioneering women's suffrage victories. Both the Finnish and Russian achievements were remarkable for their swiftness. Neither could have occurred without the revolutions that swept the Russian Empire and unleashed long-simmering democratic impulses. Both victories represented the incorporation of gender-inclusive universal suffrage into modern concepts of the nation-state. Some scholars attribute the Finnish breakthrough on suffrage to Scandinavian liberalism; others argue that Finland's place at the periphery of Europe is key; still others argue that Finland benefited from the advantages of "backwardness." In all these cases the relation between Finland and Russia in this period are minimized. I have shown that events in the Russian Empire and Finland's place within it are significant factors that must be addressed for an understanding of the Finnish suffrage victory.<sup>2</sup>

### Gender and Historical Analysis

The history of Russian feminism and the women's rights movement from 1905 to 1917 contributes to our knowledge about a number of phenomena that have been of particular interest to historians after the fall of the Soviet Union. Very few



Russian historians even try to include gender as an analytic category in their writings, as if there has been no scholarship about gender in prerevolutionary Russia. It is still far too common to find discussions of such groups as peasants, proletarians, intellectuals, and professionals with the implicit or explicit assumption that they are all male. The use of gender-inclusive language is generally foreign to the field. The change in the attitude toward women's suffrage is a significant aspect of the evolution of civil society and voluntary associations in the development of the opposition to the autocratic state. As Nicholas II hardened his resolve to preserve his absolute prerogatives, progressive society changed and expanded its definition of civil rights and citizenship. Already before World War I, the leading liberal opponent of votes for women, Paul Miliukov, introduced and served as the chief spokesman for a female suffrage bill in the Fourth Duma. Around the same time the social democrats, fearful of the feminist threat to class solidarity, introduced a new socialist holiday, International Woman's Day, whose chief demand was universal women's suffrage. International Women's Day demonstrations sparked the chain of events that led to the end of the Romanov dynasty.

Russian feminism from 1905 to 1917 went through several stages, from the creation of political organizations in the aftermath of the 1905 revolution, their growth and decline in the wake of increasing tsarist repression, the survival of a cadre of activists, the overthrow of the tsar as a result of demonstrations begun on International Women's Day, the return of a larger movement after the February Revolution, to success in winning suffrage and equal rights laws before the Bolshevik takeover. The feminists are generally viewed as an impersonal monolithic bloc. When they are discussed as individuals, it is often in negative ways or with a qualifier to highlight their idiosyncrasies, especially as in the case of Maria Pokrovskaja ("worthy but repressed"), or their divided loyalties, as in the case of Ariadna Tyrkova and Anna Miliukova. Despite their clear differences, they are lumped together as the feminists, or the "bourgeois" feminists. This dehumanizes them and trivializes who they were and what they did.

I have differentiated four categories of feminists, based on their attitudes toward the established political parties, toward class and questions of economic power and privilege, toward the international socialist and feminist movements, toward social issues specific to women, and toward men. Many of the long-term feminist activists, such as Anna Shabanova, Zinaida Mirovich, Olga Shapir, and Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein, although they focused their energies in separate organizations, were willing to work with liberal men and tsarist officials and to move incrementally toward their final goal. Shabanova, Anna Filosofova, and Mirovich

in particular had extensive international contacts. Shabanova and Filosofova affiliated with the International Council of Women. Mirovich attended and spoke at International Woman Suffrage Association congresses. Although Mirovich praised the Pankhursts' militant tactics, she did not advocate applying them in Russia.

Socialist feminists, such as the Gurevich sisters (Anna and Liubov), Olga Vol'kenshtein, Margarita Margulies, Praskov'ia Arian, and Maria Chekhova, whether party-affiliated or not, were the most outspoken in outreach to working-class and peasant women. They were unwilling to settle for limited equality, willing to make alliances with socialist women and men, and generally more sensitive to the significance of class as a factor in female oppression. Vol'kenshtein and Margulies maintained their respective Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik party affiliations while working in women's groups. Liubov Gurevich and her Bolshevik sister Anna appear to have been close both personally and politically. Maria Chekhova and Nikolai Chekhov had ties to the Russkoe Bogatstvo group, the Popular Socialist Party, and the Trudovik fraction in the Duma. The varied political connections among women in this group provide additional evidence that the traditional view of the feminist-socialist dichotomy in Russia, while useful for polemical reasons, does not reflect the reality of the connections, both political and personal, among and between Russian feminists and female socialists in this period. The boundaries between feminism and socialism were permeable and shifting.

Radical feminists, such as Maria Pokrovskaiia and Anna Kal'manovich, while recognizing the importance of economic factors, stressed the primacy of patriarchy as the key to female powerlessness. Pokrovskaiia, in her personal life probably the most woman-identified of any of the leading feminists, is the closest to contemporary radical feminists in her concern with a wide range of issues affecting women, such as violence against women (wife-beating), prostitution, and sexual violence (rape). Pokrovskaiia tackled the topic of heterosexual relations, a subject scrupulously avoided by most of her feminist contemporaries. In many ways an essentialist, she also explored the social construction of sexual behavior. Unlike many of today's radical feminists, she at least publicly accepted heterosexuality as normative, never mentioning lesbianism. Kal'manovich, one of the wittiest and most articulate of women's rights supporters, like Pokrovskaiia, considered the oppression of women by men to be the most fundamental and basic of all oppressions. Calling herself "a patriot for women" and decrying Russian "backwardness," Kal'manovich particularly admired the successes of Western feminist organizations. Less concerned about class than Pokrovskaiia, she, like Christabel Pankhurst, stressed the recruitment of "educated women" to the feminist cause.

Finally, some feminists, while acknowledging the importance of separate women's rights organizations, devoted most of their energy to work within the official political parties or male-dominated groups. Tyrkova served on the Central Committee of the Kadet Party from 1906 to 1917. She was very conscious of being a token, but she believed that her presence in the party's inner sanctum helped the cause of women far more than the waging of a separate struggle. Of all feminist activists, Tyrkova crusaded most openly against the militant tactics of the English suffragettes and was most sensitive about any sign of man-hating in the movement. She was equally hostile to socialism and socialists, and considered radicalism and socialism a dangerous distraction on the road to female freedom.

Some socialist women, like Vera Zasulich and Nadezhda Krupskaya, were implacably hostile to feminism, considering it frivolous, self-centered, or a way to split the working class. Despite the attacks against them, many feminists continued to identify as socialists. Many socialist women considered themselves feminists. There is no question that each group influenced the other. In the case of the socialists, organizing efforts among women workers, the publication of separate journals aimed at women workers, and the creation of a socialist women's holiday whose chief demand was universal suffrage in whole or in part represent reactions to feminism and its real or imagined influence among women workers. In the case of many feminists, outreach to women workers, domestic servants, peasants, prostitutes, and concern in general with the chasm between the wealthy elite and the impoverished masses often reflected progressive views developed and honed by reading and other contact with socialists of the Marxist and non-Marxist variety. Bolshevik policies in relation to women after October 1917 are outside the purview of this book, but it is worth noting that the exchange of ideas between feminists and socialists was a two-way street. Feminist arguments about "freeing women from the boring, tiresome concerns of the kitchen and small-scale housework" were echoed by Lenin after the revolution.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after the Bolshevik Revolution, Alexandra Kollontai evidently compiled a list of all feminist organizations and publications, which the new rulers then outlawed as part of their general campaign to suppress independent media and organizations.<sup>4</sup> For many reasons—including lack of resources, love of country, connections with friends and support networks, and/or belief in the revolutionary ideals espoused by the Bolsheviks—many feminists did stay and join in Soviet efforts, especially in education and public health. As the historian Kendall Bailes noted, physicians, educators, and other professionals "eventually made the transition to Soviet state socialism more smoothly," and this may even have been truer

for female professionals than for men.<sup>5</sup> Among the leaders, Arian, Chekhova, Gurevich, Pokrovskaia, Shabanova, Ekaterina Shchepkina, Shishkina-Iavein, Liudmila Ruttsen, Emiliia Vakhterova, and Olga Vol'kenshtein remained. But they were powerless to offer an independent critique of traditional beliefs about gender roles.

It is tempting to speculate what would have happened if Kollontai and the Bolsheviks had allied with the feminists before the revolution. Although she waged war against the feminists, Kollontai shared much with them. Acidly critiquing the "bourgeois feminists," she must have seen the irony of her own similar social origins. She made the oppression of women a focal point of her work, regularly attended feminist meetings, and, to the consternation of many of her comrades, advocated separate organizing of proletarian women. Like the left feminists, she focused on recruiting women workers; like Tyrkova and Miliukova, she fought with male party leaders to force them to address women's issues. Unlike the feminists, she considered equal rights a meaningless goal, supporting instead the vision of a sweeping economic and social revolution as the true solution to the woman question. But she supported the creation of an international socialist women's holiday whose chief demand was women's suffrage. If the revolution was the answer, then what was the point of women's agency before then? Kollontai did not confront this conundrum.

The dichotomy feminist-socialist in the Russian instance and in many others is inaccurate, more a polemical category than a reflection of reality.<sup>6</sup> Most feminists came from one of the two newly emerging social groupings or classes in Russian society, the intelligentsia and industrial workers. In terms of perspectives, the notion of a spectrum of opinions within the liberation, socialist, and feminist movements is much more accurate.

The Russian feminists' suffrage victory challenges the traditional paradigm accepted by many scholars of the suffrage movement. This paradigm postulates that the prerequisites for suffrage were a stable government and Western-style civil rights. In Russia, however, neither prerequisite was present. Rather, a suffrage movement arose directly from a political revolution in which men closed the door to women's rights. It became a mass movement because of a revolution and a military defeat that weakened the tsarist government. When the government gathered strength to repress all political movements, a cadre of leaders kept women's rights issues alive. But it was only after the toppling of the government that suffrage, the main feminist goal, could be realized. Thus Russian women earned full suffrage

before women in any of the major Western democracies because political instability created more favorable conditions for it. Still, as some Petrograd women on International Women's Day had leapt upon the historical stage to start the process of toppling the autocracy, women again had to be the agents of change to win suffrage. For the second time in 1917, Russian women dominated the public arena, in this instance with a mass demonstration for suffrage. This joined a symbol of the revolutionary past, Veraigner, with representatives of all the revolutionary present—intellectuals, students, and workers—demanding their democratic rights.

The area in which measurement of feminist accomplishments is most intangible is that of consciousness. Between 1905 and 1917 feminist agitation spread awareness of women's issues among more people than ever before. While most of the consciousness raising occurred among the newly emerging female intelligentsia, the pervasive class barriers were breached. Feminists did "go to the people" and had some successes. Feminist schoolteachers encouraged peasant women in letter-writing to reactionary Duma deputies and in signing women's rights petitions. Feminist agitators spoke at factories and organized domestic servants. Fear of separatist feminist consciousness among women workers drove Kollontai, Krupskaya, and other socialist activists to endless polemics against the "bourgeois" women's movement, to the establishment of separate journals, and to outreach to proletarian women.

### Women's Suffrage and Social Transformation

Was the women's suffrage victory a meaningless interlude whose significance was swept away by the Bolshevik Revolution? The feminists did view women's suffrage as the vehicle for the transformation of society and a giant step toward female emancipation. In fact, as with the achievement of many other democratic rights, such as universal male suffrage, the lifting of religious, class, ethnic, and racial restrictions to full citizenship, women's suffrage has not led to the hoped-for societal transformation. The socialist vision of women's liberation as implemented after the Bolshevik Revolution and in subsequent socialist revolutions has also failed to fulfill the dreams of its adherents. Although the Soviet system dramatically improved maternal and child health, and educated and brought women into the paid workforce in unprecedented numbers, it failed to change and in many ways reinforced patriarchal mores in the home and in society at large. Women

suffered from the “double burden” in Soviet times. Since the Soviet collapse, women continue to bear the brunt of the social and economic dislocations in the evolving market economy.

Were there specific characteristics that aided Russian women in pushing for greater rights? Certainly there is evidence for such cultural factors in Russian women’s prominence in the early revolutionary movement: their disproportionately high numbers among those seeking education in Western European universities, the tradition of egalitarian relationships within the progressive intelligentsia, and the lack of the kind of open antifeminism and misogyny exhibited by prominent Western intellectuals and political leaders. Max Weber, comparing Russian and German women, praised the “comradeship of the sexes” he noted among educated Russians, claiming that “the free position of the Russian woman” of the intelligentsia was “far above that of the German *Hausfrau*, with her indifference to general public affairs.”<sup>7</sup>

The continuity of leadership in the major women’s organizations and the role of “woman-doctors” is noteworthy and reflective of the prominence of educated women among the feminists. Of the major women’s rights organizations, all were led by physicians through most of the 1905–1917 period. Pokrovskaiia headed the Women’s Progressive Party and its club. Anna Shabanova served as president of the Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society from 1895 to 1917, and spurred the creation of the society’s Women’s Suffrage section in December 1906. Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein helped found and led the St. Petersburg branch of the League for Women’s Equal Rights from 1906. Even in the smaller feminist organizations, physicians often held leadership posts. The French-trained doctor Margarita Margulies-Aitova, president of the short-lived St. Petersburg First Women’s Political Club, was a bacteriologist at the Women’s Medical Institute. The exception was the Moscow branch of the League for Women’s Equal Rights, led at its inception in 1909 by the educator Maria Chekhova. Once Chekhova stepped down as president, succeeded by Dr. Maria Burdakova, all the major feminist organizations had physicians at their helms.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the cultural factors that aided the growth of feminism, what explains the continued resistance, indeed visceral hostility, to feminism in Russia? Part of the explanation may be a particular cultural discomfort with women fighting for themselves rather than for others. This is certainly not unique to Russia, but, as the historians Barbara Engel and Adele Lindenmeyr have argued, self-sacrifice by women, in the family and in the public sphere, is a well-honed motif in Russian religious and political culture. Feminism challenges the primacy of female self-

sacrifice. In one of her last speeches, a year before her death, Filosofova noted: “Superficially feminism seems narrow, professional, as if women were egotistically busy with their personal affairs, competing with men. But that, of course, is not so. The real issue is the dignity of the individual, about her right to self-determination, about the manifestation of her inherent abilities and talents.”<sup>9</sup> Ellen DuBois, a historian of U.S. women’s suffrage, has argued for greater recognition of the voting rights movement in the context of a longer narrative of female agency. It was, she argues, “the first independent movement of women for their own liberation. Its growth—the mobilization of women around the demand for the vote, their collective activity, their commitment to gaining increased power over their own lives—was itself a major change in the condition of those lives.”<sup>10</sup>

The history of Russian feminism in the prerevolutionary period is part of the lost and repressed tradition of civic activism in the Russian Empire. This history can provide positive role models for Russians and renew the links to an oft-overlooked part of the global history of women’s movements. Knowledge about Russian women’s fight for the vote and the specific conditions of their success enriches the understanding of this period from the national to the global perspective.



## Epilogue

IN THE SUMMER of 1921, Anna Backer, the corresponding secretary of the International Council of Women (ICW), received a letter from Dr. Anna Shabanova, addressed from St. Petersburg and written in French. Shabanova had been the head of one of Russia's most prominent women's rights organizations, the Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society. She had replaced Anna Filosofova as a vice president of the ICW after Filosofova's death in 1912. With the Bolshevik Revolution and subsequent civil war, Shabanova decried "the misery of the famine in Russia [that] menaces the life of millions." She as a "shepherd without a flock is condemned, temporarily, to inactivity." This comment referred to early Soviet laws denying work and civil rights, including the vote, to those of bourgeois or gentry origins and to the closing of all feminist organizations.<sup>1</sup>

In the wake of the October Revolution, some Russian women activists fled abroad, but the majority remained. They were unrepresented at subsequent femi-



nist congresses, although at least Shabanova maintained steady contact with Lady Aberdeen of the ICW. Russian feminism was submerged in the USSR by a narrative that emphasized socialist style women's liberation, comradely relations between the sexes, and international class solidarity. Within the global women's movement this interpretation gained acceptance. The history of Russian feminist activism and victories were made invisible or inconsequential, to be rediscovered largely after the fall of the USSR.

Whether in exile or in the Soviet Union, feminists were largely silent or silenced about their former activism. After fleeing Russia with her husband in 1919, Anna Miliukova served as the chair of the London Russian Red Cross Committee. Settling in Paris, she maintained her concern about the plight of women but limited her involvement to philanthropic activities. They may have considered relocating to Italy. An old friend, the archaeologist Tatiana Warscher, remembered Anna and Paul's 1933 visit to Rome and how happy they were during their stay. The storm clouds emanating from Hitler's Germany affected them; they met a family of Jewish refugees from Berlin escaping to Argentina. Still, Italy seemed different. Both loved the country. To Warscher, Miliukova's enthusiasm for the Italian "fascist revolution" showed how Mussolini's "genial masquerade" could fool "even such exceptional people." She still retained her focus on the situation of women, especially mothers. Warscher noted her friend's particular interest in Italy's state-run maternal and child care centers. But after ten weeks the Miliukovs returned to Paris.<sup>2</sup> Two years later Miliukova died. Her obituaries said nothing about her support for women's rights, but a memorial service was held for her at the Russian chapter of the International Federation of University Women.<sup>3</sup>

Ariadna Tyrkova, along with Miliukova, formed part of the delegation that had met with Provisional Government Prime Minister L'vov to reaffirm his commitment to legalize women's suffrage. Tyrkova also left Russia in 1918, eventually settling in London with her husband, Harold Williams, where they formed a circle of anti-Bolshevik liberals. She spent the war years in France, then moved with her son to the United States in 1951. In her autobiographical writing, published in 1952 and 1954, Tyrkova barely mentions all of her feminist activity. Her most extensive description of speaking out for women's rights concerns her support of Miliukova at the Kadet congresses in 1905 and 1906, but there is nothing about her subsequent involvement or about the March 1917 meeting of feminists with Prince L'vov. She also appears to have had no contact with the international feminist movement.<sup>4</sup>

Two activists were targeted by the Bolsheviks, not for feminist advocacy but for their vocal opposition to the revolutionary government. Neither attempt was successful, but both presaged later Soviet arrests and show trials. Countess Sofia Panina, the most prominent participant in the March meeting with L'vov, became an early target of the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution. In the first show trial of the Soviet era, held on December 10, 1917, she was charged with stealing ninety-three thousand rubles from the Ministry of Education. Defended by Iakov Iakovlevich Gurevich, the brother of Liubov and Anna Gurevich, Panina was found guilty by the revolutionary tribunal of "opposition to the people's authority." She was to be kept imprisoned until the money taken was returned to the Bolshevik Commissariat of Education, but her actual punishment was limited to "public censure." Friends raised the money to ransom Panina right before Christmas. In 1918, with her companion Nikolai Astrov, Panina fled to the White Army led by General Denikin. In 1920 the pair left Russia, living in Prague. Panina fled the Nazis in 1938, settling in the United States, where she lived until her death in 1956.<sup>5</sup>

Ekaterina Kuskova, who insisted that feminist representatives be appointed to the Provisional Government's electoral commission and thus ensured that women's suffrage would be part of the July 23 voting regulations, strongly opposed the Bolshevik Revolution. Arrested in connection with her efforts to combat the Russian famine of 1921, she and her husband, Sergei Prokopovich, were among a number of prominent intellectuals sentenced to death in 1922. Bowing to public opinion, the Soviets commuted these sentences, instead expelling the accused. Kuskova and Prokopovich joined the émigré communities in Berlin and then Prague, before fleeing the Nazis in 1938 and settling in Geneva. Kuskova died in Switzerland in 1958.<sup>6</sup>

Anna Shabanova was among the majority of feminist leaders, who remained in Russia. All were largely silent about their activism. Some complained privately about the hypocrisy of official government salutes to women and Stalin's declaration that the Soviets had "resolved the woman question." At least one, Chekhova, wrote voluminous memoirs. She completed them in the 1930s, hardly a propitious time for such writing to see the light of day. She died of natural causes in 1937, at the height of Stalin's purges. It is not clear if her autobiographical writing, extremely detailed for the period up to 1900, covered the period of her feminist activism. The only discussion of this period is in a separate piece written by her daughter, Ekaterina, which mostly touches on Chekhova's activism in the Women's

Equal Rights Union in 1905 and 1907 and her editorship of the feminist journal *Union of Women*. No other memoir material appears to be in the holdings of the Moscow archive in which Chekhova's papers now reside.<sup>7</sup> Chekhova kept up correspondence with her former Women's Union comrades within Russia. Among others, Ekaterina Shchepkina wrote that she was working on memoirs about the Women's Union and the Guerrier and Bestuzhev higher courses, and on a book entitled "Women of the Sixties." There is no evidence that they were published.<sup>8</sup> Liudmila Ruttsen wrote from Orel province, where she lived with her sister, a librarian, and two nieces. Life was monotonous, work was not hard, but she suffered from poor health.<sup>9</sup>

After 1917, Praskov'ia Arian apparently tried in public to be a model Soviet citizen, seeking to educate the masses and continuing to write. Like Shchepkina, she still tried to publish on the woman question, keeping her focus on the pre-revolutionary period. In 1929 she sent the handwritten manuscript for a book on "The Role of Women in the Russian Revolutionary Movement" (Rol' zhenshchin v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii) to the State Publishing House. There is no further word in her papers about its fate, and there is no evidence that it was published. Arian also penned an article entitled "Forgotten Anniversary" (Zabytyi iubilei) commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Bestuzhev women's courses; she lectured and wrote about the history of the women's technical courses. In a draft article for the journal *Knowledge Herald* (*Vestnik znaniia*), again ostensibly discussing the difficulties faced by women before the revolution, she criticized long-held attitudes toward women. Writing in 1928, she descried the fact that "no other question has elicited such mockery and bitter enmity, such misinterpretation, misunderstanding, stupidity or ill-intentioned slander as the woman question."<sup>10</sup> In the 1930s she conducted courses for workers at the Kirov factory, lecturing on Pushkin. During the siege of Leningrad in 1942, she was evacuated to Tashkent.<sup>11</sup> She died on March 28, 1949, in Moscow.<sup>12</sup>

Anna Kal'manovich is listed as a member of the League for Women's Equal Rights in the organization's reports through 1915 and as a speaker at the rally before the March 19 suffrage march. In a 1927 pamphlet her husband refers to her as deceased. I have uncovered no other evidence of her fate after the revolution.<sup>13</sup> Maria Pokrovskaiia suffered the closing of her journal at the end of 1917 and appears to have died in 1922. Her personal archive is fragmentary. In her last years, deprived of any public platform, she relied on her medical training to survive. Finding work as a "sanitary inspector" at the Tentelev chemical factory and the

“Electrical Energy” factory, Pokrovskaia diligently kept track in her pocket calendars, in ever shakier handwriting, of diminishing workers’ rations. The entries end in 1922.<sup>14</sup>

Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein, chief organizer of and speaker at the March 19 suffrage march, fled to Estonia after the revolution. When her husband died, she returned with her two children to Petrograd, because “Russians should live in Russia.”<sup>15</sup> Finding work as a doctor, she attended to patients and survived the siege of Leningrad, dying in 1947. After her death, her granddaughter, Nonna Roshchina, remembers papering a wall in her family’s communal apartment with feminist proclamations. Shishkina-Iavein did not write her memoirs, but she left a large archive, still preserved by her granddaughter.<sup>16</sup>

Some feminists were honored by the Soviet government. Although she continued contact with many of her feminist friends, Liubov Gurevich said nothing publicly about her prior activities. Gurevich appears to have seamlessly made the transition to Soviet rule. From 1919 to 1920 she was a member of the Leningrad chapter of the Writers Union, and after her move to Moscow in 1920 she became the Leningrad representative to the Writers Union board of directors. For the rest of her life she devoted herself to the world of theater. Before the revolution, she grew close to the director Konstantin Stanislavskii, compiling and editing the first and second editions of his book *My Life in Art*, and she was important in popularizing his system in the West. In 1926, Stanislavskii acknowledged the significance of her help: “Without your constant approval and support I would never have written this book. Without your guidance and help I would never have published it.”<sup>17</sup> A member of the Theater Section of the State Academy of Arts, Gurevich was honored in 1928 by the Soviet government for her cultural activity. She died in 1940. Today she is primarily known as a literary critic, editor, and the popularizer of Stanislavskii’s theories—not for her role as a champion of women’s rights.<sup>18</sup>

In 1921, when Shabanova wrote her letter, a civil war was raging, conditions were chaotic, and the Soviets had not fully consolidated their power. Shabanova emphasized that she was sending the letter through private channels, which explained why “I can speak freely.” She wanted to correct the record, challenging both the ICW narrative and the Soviet narrative. “I affirm,” she wrote, “that this right [to women’s suffrage] was won by female intellectuals (the so-called *bourgeoise*). Notably on March 19, under the rule of the Provisional Government, delegates from diverse feminist organizations (I was there) were received by the Prime Minister (Prince L’vov) and we obtained the right to vote.”<sup>19</sup>

Turning to the details of the ICW report on Russia, Shabanova acknowledged the “great work of the ICW, but I must establish the truth.” She objected to the impression left that Russian women’s obtaining suffrage and the right to run for elective office is attributed exclusively to Shishkina-Iavein. And she informed Backer that the Russian National Council, established in 1917 after the successful suffrage march, no longer functioned. She still hoped to see “the moment when I will once again be able to work with you and for you.”<sup>20</sup> In her uncensored letter, Shabanova was positive about the gains made under the Bolsheviks, affirming that “the situation of women in regards to political and other rights is now much better in Russia than in Europe and that this immense progress has been realized by the woman worker and no one but her.” But she added a caveat. Continuing the comparison between Russia and Europe, Shabanova wrote that in the latter, “progress has been realized by the path of evolution and the rights won are in complete accord with their duties and responsibilities.” In Russia the revolution suddenly handed to women “ill-equipped for the task, administrative posts, prejudicing the cause.”<sup>21</sup> Shabanova kept up her correspondence with the ICW leaders until her death in 1932. The letters, generally New Year’s greetings, got past the Soviet censors, as did at least some ICW reports. In each of the generally cautious and unrevealing missives written in French and sent through the regular Soviet mail, Shabanova underlined the importance of her link to the global women’s movement through the organizational reports that she received.

Shabanova appears to have made peace with the Bolshevik government, at least in public. As a noted pediatrician, she was named a “Hero of Labor” in 1928 on the fiftieth anniversary of her medical school graduation. She died on May 25, 1932. At her funeral she was remembered as someone whose “energy and talents could only fully emerge after the October Revolution. Only October gave women equal rights, and all of Anna Nikolaevna’s cherished dreams were realized.” The library at a major St. Petersburg children’s hospital is currently named for her.<sup>22</sup>

The feminist leaders were generally blessed with long lives; all apparently died peacefully. For those who stayed, their gender played a role in their survival, both because they were not taken as seriously as possible threats and because their histories could fit into the government’s policies about women’s liberation. The Soviet narrative, obliterating the feminists’ collective achievements, became dominant. Arian and Gurevich could find their niche as long as they did not publicly recall their feminist activism. Pokrovskaiia, Shishkina-Iavein, Shabanova, and feminist physicians like them could still support themselves working as doctors. And

Shabanova became a model Soviet citizen by, at least in public, reformulating the feminists' strivings for equal rights, using medical metaphors: "In the twilight of my life, in my soul, I maintain a deep faith in women's impending critical role in healing our civic organism's wounds and in the moral and social recovery of humanity, based on full equality with men."<sup>23</sup>

## NOTES

### Preface

1. Natalya Pushkareva has moved beyond Soviet historians' attacks on "bourgeois feminists" toward an acknowledgement of some cross-class connections: "Although the self-designated feminists and suffragists . . . usually came from privileged circles, they did not neglect women of the lower classes entirely." See Pushkareva, *Women in Russian History* (1997), 238–239.

2. Aivazova, *Russkie zhenshchiny v labirinte ravnopravii*, 65; Yukina, "Formirovanie feministской ideologii v doreformennoi Rossii," 229–240; Yukina, "Ol'ga Shapir-Ideolog Rossiiskogo feminizma," 116–127; and Yukina, *Russkii feminism kak vyzov sovremennosti*. See also Uspenskaia, "Suffrazhizm v istorii feminizma i russkie feministki," 70–80. Uspenskaia does not refer to the work of Linda Edmondson or Zoia Grishina. See also Liborakina, "Women's Voluntarism and Philanthropy in Pre-Revolutionary Russia." The conference "The Legal Status of Women in Russia: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"—held in St. Petersburg from March 21–23, 2008, to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the 1908 First All-Russian Women's Congress—demonstrated the impressive extent of scholarship about women in Russia. See the summary of conference papers in Pushkareva, Muravyeva, and Novikova, *Gendernoe ravno-pravie v Rossii*.

### Chapter 1. *The Meaning of Equality*

*Epigraph:* Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotodokumentov (RGAKFD), Krasnogorsk, Document 578, "Women's manifestation in the Nevsky Prospect," newsreel of the March 19, 1917, suffrage demonstration in Petrograd.

1. St. Petersburg's name, considered too German, was Slavicized to Petrograd on August 18, 1914, soon after the outbreak of World War I. After the Bolshevik Revolution the capital was moved to Moscow, in March 1918. The city was renamed Leningrad on January 26, 1924. On September 6, 1991, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic passed a law renaming Leningrad St. Petersburg. A. D. Margolis, "Leningrad," and G. Y. Nikitenko, "Petrograd," in *The St. Petersburg Encyclopaedia* (available online at <http://www.encspb.ru>, accessed on May 27, 2009).

2. Zinaida Gippius, *Dnevnik*, 2 vols. (Moscow: NPK "Intelvak," 1999), vol. 1, 499.

3. Liubov Gurevich, *Pochemu nuzhno dat' zhenshchinam takii zhe prava, kak muzhchinam* (Petrograd: Znanie-Sila, 1917), 2. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 166. Most historians of the Russian revolutions of 1917, if they mention this demonstration or the women's suffrage victory at all, do so briefly. Women scholars in Russia have paid more attention to this demonstration and its significance. See especially Khasbulatova and Gafisova, *Zhenskoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, 182–183; Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 258–262; and Yukina, *Russkii feminism kak vyzov sovremennosti*.

4. Two of the most prominent scholars of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian women's history, Richard Stites and Barbara Alpern Engel, have claimed that the march took place on March 20. Stites has asserted that the political leaders at the Tauride Palace made no

promises, that the “always cautious and politic” Chkeidze mouthed platitudes, and that Rodzianko gave the marchers only “vague assurances.” He does not mention any meeting with L’vov on that day. See Engel, *Women in Russia*, 134; and Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 292–293. Stites asserts that at the march’s endpoint, the Tauride Palace, headquarters of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and of the Provisional Government, political leaders made no promises.

5. *Zakon o vyborakh v Uchreditel’noe sobranie: Offitsial’noe polozhenie utverzhdennoe Vremennym pravitel’stvom 20 iuliia 1917 g.* (Petrograd: Severnoe izdatel’stvo, 1917), paragraphs 3–10; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 175n24. Women from 1838 could vote in the Pitcairn Islands, and from 1893 in the Cook Islands. In 1893, New Zealand became the first self-governing country to grant universal suffrage to women, but New Zealand women did not gain the right to campaign for and hold elective office until 1919, when they were allowed to run for seats in the Lower House of Parliament. They did not win full legislative rights until 1941, when they won eligibility for appointment to the Legislative Council. Women of all races won the right to vote and run for office in South Australia in 1894, and in Victoria, New South Wales, and Tasmania soon after, but the federal constitution of 1902 denied suffrage to aboriginal women and men. Aborigines did not win federal suffrage in Australia until 1962. See, Daley and Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond*, 4–5.

6. On the Finnish victory, see Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom,” 190.

7. The political scientist Naomi Black, for example, is typical in arguing that “equity feminism,” or equal rights feminism, “has little impact in societies that do not have a tradition of individual rights and citizen action” (see Black, *Social Feminism*, 29). See also Anderson and Zinsser, *Asserting Women’s Political and Legal Equality*, 367–370. The Women’s History Web site maintained by Jone Johnson Lewis includes an “International Woman Suffrage Timeline” (see [http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/a/intl\\_timeline.html](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/a/intl_timeline.html) (accessed on July 15, 2008)). The site includes Finland’s women’s suffrage in 1906 but does not mention that at that time Finland was under the control of the Russian tsar. The time line acknowledges the Provisional Government’s granting women the vote and notes that the “Soviet Russian constitution” granted full suffrage to women. John Markoff has presented the periphery argument in his “Margins, Centers, and Democracy.” Although he highlights the Finnish suffrage victory, Markoff, like many other observers of the global suffrage scene, completely ignores Russia and the rest of the Russian Empire. Karen Offen, in *European Feminisms, 1700–1950*, made the first serious attempt among Western women’s historians to include Russia within the scope of European feminisms.

8. On the Russian movement being comparatively “weak,” see Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, 9.

9. Even for adherents of the periphery theory of the attainment of women’s suffrage, Russia is beyond peripheral.

10. The tsars permitted social reform in a non-Russian part of the empire first also in connection with the emancipation of the serfs. Tsar Alexander II freed the serfs in the Baltic states before doing so in Russia proper.

11. My definition of full women’s suffrage in this context is the unrestricted right to vote and the right to run for and hold elective office in a national entity. While individual Western U.S. territories and states granted women universal suffrage, starting with the Wyoming (1869) and Utah (1870) territories, U.S. women as a whole did not win suffrage until 1920. While Finland remained part of the Russian Empire until 1917, it gained considerable independence after



1906. Daley and Nolan's *Suffrage and Beyond* is particularly helpful on the suffrage movements in Australia and New Zealand. They include Finland but not Russia in their "Chronological List of Women's Suffrage Dates" (ibid., 349–352).

12. At this writing, while some countries deny suffrage to both men and women, or stipulate limited suffrage for women, only Saudi Arabia completely denies suffrage to women. See Table 8, "Women's Access to the Rights to Vote and to Stand for Elections: World Chronology," available online at [http://www.idea.int/women/parl/ch6\\_table8.htm](http://www.idea.int/women/parl/ch6_table8.htm) (accessed on June 27, 2008).

13. Offen's *European Feminisms* (quotation on page 142) is the most thorough overview of this subject to date. The best summary of the "first wave" of the U.S. women's movement is still Eleanor Flexner's *A Century of Struggle*. Flexner's book has had multiple printings. Carrie Chapman Catt tallied up the energy expended on U.S. women's suffrage efforts: "To get the word male in effect out of the constitution cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign thereafter. During that time they were forced to conduct fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to urge Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to induce State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into State constitutions; 277 campaigns to persuade State party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to urge presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms; and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses. Millions of dollars were raised, mainly in small sums, and expended with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands gave constant interest and such aid as they could. It was a continuous, seemingly endless, chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended." See Catt and Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, chapter 9, "The Woman's Hour That Never Came," 107–110.

14. N. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow: Tip. I. D. Sytina, 1908).

15. See also Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 165–169; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 291–295.

16. The Russian experience is not unique in the history of women's suffrage struggles. China also had an active feminist movement before its revolution. Most scholars credit the 1949 Communist Revolution with granting Chinese women the vote. In fact, Chinese women in 1947, like Russian women in 1917, won voting rights *before* their Communist Revolution. The Chinese victory was the result of successful feminist agitation connected to the implementation of the Republic of China Constitution. Both the Russian and Chinese cases demonstrate the possibilities for feminist agency and success in societies in transition. See DuBois, "Woman Suffrage," 540; and Edwards, "Woman's Suffrage in China," 618–619.

17. Offen, "Defining Feminism," 128. The English word "feminism" is derived from the French *féminisme* taken up by the French suffragist Hubertine Auclert in 1832 and adopted widely in France during the 1890s "as a synonym for women's emancipation." By the end of the nineteenth century, use of the word had spread throughout Europe, was cited in Russian published sources, and had jumped across the Atlantic. Once adopted, "feminism" was used to describe, as Offen has noted, a "veritable taxonomy of self-described or imputed feminisms," from "Christian feminists" to "male feminists" to "socialist feminists" to "bourgeois feminists."

18. The term "women's liberation movement" thus predates the national liberation struggles of the mid- to late twentieth century and may have originated in Russia. It quite likely came from the earlier French use of the term *libération*.

19. On the reception of and use of the word “feminism” in Russia, see Rosamund Bartlett and Linda Edmondson, with additional material from Catriona Kelly and Steve Smith, “Collapse and Creation: Issues of Identity and the Russian *Fin de Siècle*,” in Kelly and Shepherd, *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution*, 196–197, in the section, probably written entirely by Edmondson, entitled “The Russian Women’s Movement” (ibid., 193–207). On the various terms used by and about Russian feminists, see, for example, Anna N. Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Prosveshchenie, 1912), 15; A. A. Kal’manovich, *Zhenskoe dvizhenie i ego zadachi* (St. Petersburg: Rabotnik, 1908); V. Pavlova, “Chto takoe feminism?” *Zhenskoe delo* (July 15, 1912): 6–8; and Ariadna Tyrkova’s article “Feminizm,” on page 2 of the April 20, 1906, issue of the Kadet paper *Rech’* under “Vergezhskii,” her frequently used male pseudonym.

20. Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 230–231.

21. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 171–172; and Bartlett and Edmondson, “Collapse and Creation,” 198–199, 206–207.

22. McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution*, 174.

23. Wade is more positive about the victories for women in the 1917 interrevolutionary period but maintains that they meant little to peasant and working women. See Wade, *Russian Revolution*, 1917, 116–121.

24. Smith, “Citizenship and the Russian Nation,” 321.

25. Scholarship about the relationship between liberalism, socialism, and feminism in Britain reveals a similar tendency to dichotomize socialism and feminism. For a reconsideration in that context, see Tjitske Akkerman, “Liberalism and Feminism in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain,” in Akkerman and Stuurman, *Perspectives on Feminist Political Thought*, 168–185.

26. Thompson, “English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” 77. For an analysis of food riots in Russia, both spontaneous and conscious, see Bobroff-Hajal, *Working Women in Russia*, 10–45.

27. Kollontai lobbed many broadsides against the feminists. The most comprehensive of these can be found in Alexandra Kollontai, *Sotsial’nyiia osnovy zhenskogo voprosa* (St. Petersburg: Znanie, 1909); the quotation about bread is on page 34. Kollontai begins with an extended polemic attacking the “bourgeois” feminists for ignoring class and distorting Marx with their slogan, “Women of the World—Unite!” (ibid., 1–3). Kollontai was not alone or unique in labeling the feminists as “bourgeois.” For critiques of similar accusations about “bourgeois feminism” in other countries, see Françoise Picq, “‘Bourgeois Feminism’ in France: A Theory Developed by Socialist Women before World War I,” in Friedlander et al., *Women in Culture and Politics*, 330–343. For an effective recent critique of such labeling, see Boxer, “Rethinking the Socialist Construction and International Career of the Concept ‘Bourgeois Feminism.’”

28. DuBois’s work has been very helpful in developing this conceptual framework. See especially DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*. The quotations are from pages 17 and 18, respectively. DuBois, “Woman Suffrage and the Left: An International Socialist-Feminist Perspective.”

## Chapter 2. *Consciousness Raised*

In this chapter I have incorporated material from Ruthchild, “Feminist Publications and Publishers in St. Petersburg, 1899–1917”; and Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights.” *Epigraph*: Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode* (New York: Izd.-vo im. Chekhova, 1952), 216–217.

1. Elizabeth Wood provides an excellent critique of Chernyshevskii's *What Is to Be Done?* in *The Baba and the Comrade*, 24–25.
2. Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*, 109 and 126.
3. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 20.
4. Elena Shtakenshneider, *Dnevnik i zapiski, 1854–1886* (Moscow: Academia, 1934), 400.
5. Quoted in Vladimir V. Stasov, *Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova: Vospominaniia i ocherki* (St. Petersburg, 1899), 440–441.
6. While I focus primarily on St. Petersburg and Moscow, the work of many other women, especially in the provinces, remains to be researched and uncovered.
7. "Iubilei Ol'ga Andreevny Shapir," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar na 1905 god*, 374–375. Olga Shapir, very popular in her day, fell into obscurity. She is now getting more attention. Other sources on her include Irina Yukina, "Ol'ga Shapir," in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 503–507; Irina Kazakova, "Ol'ga Andreevna Shapir," in Ledkovsky, Rosenthal, and Zirin, *Dictionary of Russian Women Writers*, 577–580; Kelly, *History of Russian Women's Writing*, 181–193; Olga Shapir, "The Settlement," in Kelly, *Anthology of Russian Women's Writing*, 118–152; *Zhenskoe delo* (July 1, 1916); Fedor F. Fidler, *Pervye literaturnye shagi* (Moscow: Tip. I.D. Sytina, 1911), 46–55; Olga A. Shapir, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 10 vols. (St. Petersburg: N.p., 1910–1912), with a preface by D. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii; Alexander M. Skabichevskii, *Istoriia noveishei russkoi literatury* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaia pol'za," 1903), 401; N. Martov, *Galereia russkikh pisatelei i khudozhnikov* (St. Petersburg: N. F. Merts, 1901, 81); and "Shapir, Olga Andreevna," in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Granat* (Moscow, n.d.), vol. 11, 731.
8. Kelly, *History of Russian Women's Writing*, 183.
9. Olga Shapir, "Avtobiografiia"; Fidler, *Pervye literaturnye shagi*, 46–55; Goldberg (Ruthchild), "Russian Women's Movement, 1859–1917," 206–207; and Kelly, *History of Russian Women's Writing*, 183.
10. "Iubilei Ol'ga Andreevny Shapir," 374–375.
11. *Ibid.*, 375.
12. Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: International Publishers, 1927; reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 45–46.
13. See Hilde Hoogenboom, "Vera Figner and Revolutionary Autobiographies: The Influence of Gender on Genre," in Marsh, *Women in Russia and Ukraine*, 78–93, 78.
14. Vilenskii-Sibiriakov, *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, vol. 1, part 2, 456; [Shabanova, Anna N.] Sh. "Zhenskie vrachebnye kursy," *Vestnik evropy* 21 (January 1886): 345–357; and Medovikov, "50-letie nauchnoi, vrachebnoi, pedagogicheskoi, obshchestvennoi i literaturnoi deiatel'nosti A. N. Shabanovoi," 92, for the Academy president's quotation.
15. DenBeste-Barnett, "Publish or Perish," 221.
16. Zabludovskaia, "Odnazh iz pervykh zhenshchin vrachei-pediatrov v Rossii: A.N. Shabanova," 73.
17. Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 205–206; Natalia Novikova, "Anna Shabanova," in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 498–501; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 28; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 194.
18. Lindenmeyr, "Public Life, Private Virtues," 586. For information on such women, see Wendy Rosslyn, *Deeds, Not Words: The Origins of Women's Philanthropy in the Russian Empire* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2007); and Meehan-Waters, "From Contemplative Practice to Charitable Activity." See also Brenda Meehan's *Holy Women of Russia: The*

*Lives of Five Orthodox Women Offer Spiritual Guidance for Today* (San Francisco: HarperSan-Francisco, 1993), in which she argues for the radical potential of women's embrace of the contemplative life. The quotation is from Meehan, *Holy Women*, 146.

19. Lindenmeyr, "Public Life, Private Virtues," 586, and *Poverty Is Not a Vice*. For an opposing view, see Liborakina, "Women's Voluntarism and Philanthropy," 408.

20. Shepherd, *Price below Rubies*.

21. Lindenmeyr, "Public Life, Private Virtues," 586. Samuil Eremeevich Kal'manovich (b. 1862) was active in the Socialist Revolutionary Party and a key figure in exposing the police agent Azef, a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party central committee. See N. A. Troitskii, *Advokatura v Rossii i politicheskie protsessy 1866–1904gg* (Tula: Avtograf, 2000), 418–419, also available online at [http://ldn-knigi.narod.ru/JUDAICA/Brd\\_Burz\\_Argun.htm](http://ldn-knigi.narod.ru/JUDAICA/Brd_Burz_Argun.htm) (accessed on May 9, 2008).

22. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, RGALI), Fond 1018, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia Arian, "Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia-Arian," opis 1, delo 116, s. 3 front. This is a letter containing a short autobiography of her social and feminist activity beginning in 1893, written on the letterhead of Samuil Eremeevich Kal'manovich, *prisiazhnyi poverennyi* (barrister), with a St. Petersburg address, to Arian, dated 1913. Kal'manovich mentions nothing in this letter of her husband or family. See also Iakov L'vovich. Teitel', *Iz moei zhizni za sorok let* (Paris: Izd. Ia. Povolotskii, 1925), 135.

23. *Saratovskii listok*, no. 15, January 19, 1903 (Sunday), 3. I am indebted to Timothy Mixer for this source.

24. Ibid.

25. Teitel', *Iz moei zhizni za sorok let*, 169.

26. RGALI, Fond 1018, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia Arian, Kal'manovich letter, 3 front.

27. Anna Andreevna Kal'manovich, *Otchet o zhenskom mezhdunarodnom kongresse 1904 g. chitannyyi A. A. Kal'manovich 2 dekabria 1904 g. v Saratove* (Saratov: Tipo-litografiia G.Kh. Shel'gorn, 1905); the Shaw quotation is on page 18.

28. "Valeriia Nikolaevna Belokonskaia," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar na 1913 god*, 35–40, quotation from tsarist official on page 39. Other sources on Belokonskaia are George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System* 2 vols. (London, 1891), vol. 1, 259–261; I. Popov, "Belokonskaia," *Zhenskoe delo*, 15; and I. P. Belokonskii, "K istorii politicheskoi ssylki 80-kh godov," *Katorga i ssylka* 31 (1927): 142–157, 142.

29. Stasov, *Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova*. On d'Héricourt, see *ibid.*, 189; on Butler, see *ibid.*, 208–236. See also Karen Offen, "A Nineteenth-century French Feminist Rediscovered: Jenny P. d'Héricourt, 1809–1875," *Signs* 13, no. 1 (Autumn 1987): 144–158.

30. Stasov, *Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova*, 410–415. The story of the exhibit's disappearance suggests Russian government involvement. Isabel Hapgood, the U.S. translator and author, volunteered to deliver the material personally to the exhibit, but when she fell ill, she was forced to mail the packet to Chicago. There, one of the many Russian sailors working at the World's Fair retrieved the material at the post office. At that point, according to Stasova's brother and biographer, it "vanished into thin air." All attempts at tracing it failed.

31. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 15. The 1889 founding meeting of the ICW was initiated by Stanton and Anthony, but May Wright Sewall deserves the credit for organizing the 1893 Women's Congress in Chicago. Working closely with Lady Aberdeen, Sewall served as ICW president from 1899 to 1904. Karen Offen correspondence with the author, November 15, 2008. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 15–21. The quotation from Lady Aberdeen is on page 20.

32. For more information about women's clubs in the United States, see Olive Thorne Miller, *The Women's Club: A Practical Guide and Handbook* (New York: Lovell, Gestefeld and Co., 1891), the quotation is on page 20; Jennie June Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York: H. G. Allen, 1898); and Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 180–181, 190–191.

33. Julia A. Sprague, *History of the New England Women's Club from 1868 to 1893* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1894), 56–57. On Gardner and the International Woman's League, see *Sbornik pamiati Anny Pavlovny Filosofovoi*, 2 vols. (Petrograd: P. R. Golike i A. Vil'borg, 1915), vol. 1. Ariadna Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova i eia vremia* (Petrograd: P. Golike i A. Vil'borg, 1915), 239.

34. Stasov, *Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova*, 440–441.

35. *Ibid.*, 438–441.

36. Evgeniia A. Chebysheva-Dmitrieva, "O russkom zhenskom vzaimno-blagotvoritel'nom obshchestve v S-Peterburge," in *Trudy pervogo vserossiiskogo zhenskogo s'ezda pri Russkom zhenskoi obshchestve v Sankt-Peterburge 10–16 dekabriia 1908* (St. Petersburg: Tip. I. N. Kushnerova, 1909), 586–593, 586.

37. A. Polianskii, *Russkaia zhenshchina na gosudarstvennoi i obshchestvennoi sluzhbe* (Moscow: Izd. S. Skirmunta, 1901), 284–290.

38. Elizaveta D'iakanova, *Dnevnik Elizaveta D'iakonovoi* (St. Petersburg, 1905), 55. Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 195.

39. *Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimno-blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo: Otchet za 1897–1898 god* (St. Petersburg, 1899).

40. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 380–381.

41. Chebysheva-Dmitrieva, "O russkom zhenskom obshchestve," 587. Dr. Ida Posnansky-Garfield, "The Russian Women's Association or Club at St. Petersburg," *The International Congress of Women: Report of Council Transactions*, 7 vols. (London: T. F. Unwin, 1900), vol. 3, 89–90.

42. Chebysheva-Dmitrieva, "O russkom zhenskom obshchestve," 587.

43. Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii (GARF, State Archive of the Russian Federation), Fond 629, "Ariadna Vladimirovna Tyrkova," opis 1, delo 6, "The Position of Women in Russia, Their Ideals and Claims," *The Times Russian Supplement*, April 27, 1914, 9–10, 10 (s. 21).

44. Maria V. Bezobrazova, *O russkom zhenskom vzaimno-blagotvoritel'nom obshchestve* (St. Petersburg, 1898), 56–57.

45. *Godovoi otchet Russkogo zhenskogo vzaimno-blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo za 1896/97 god* (St. Petersburg, 1898), 10.

46. *Ibid.*, 10–11.

47. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 28; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 193; and Marianna Muravyeva, "Anna Pavlovna Filosofova," in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 135–139, 137. Michelle DenBeste, "Shabanova, Anna Nikolaevna," in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 67–69. The Russians' correspondence with Lady Aberdeen is in Ottawa at the Library and Archives Canada, International Council of Women Archive, MG 28 I 245, vol. 46, Box 116, File 686.

48. Rhonda Clark, "Women's Periodical Publishing in Late Imperial Russia," in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 108.

49. Sources on Gurevich's life include: "L. Gurevich," in S. Vengerov, ed., *Kritiko-biograficheskii slovar' russkikh pisatelei i uchenykh* (St. Petersburg: Semenovskaia tipolitografiia,

1888–1904; second printing, Petrograd, 1915–1916), vol. 1, book 2, 234–256, and book 3, 257–264; “Liubov Iakovlevna Gurevich,” in Martov, *Gallereia russkikh pisatelei*, 68 (includes photo); Nikolai G. Molostvov, *Borets za idealism*, A. S. Volynskii (St. Petersburg: Tip. P. P. Soikina, 1903), 321–396; “Liubov’ Iakovlevna Gurevich,” *Pervye literaturnye shagi*, 181–198; “Gurevich, Liubov Iakovlevna,” *Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar’ Brokgauz Efron* (St. Petersburg, 1913), vol. 15, 294; “L. Ia. Gurevich,” in S. A. Vengerov, ed., *Russkaia literature XX veka (1890–1910)* (Moscow: Mir, 1914), 179–181; S. S. Grechishkin, “Arkhiv L. Ia. Gurevich,” in *Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo doma* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1976), 3–29; Kittel, “Chelovek bol’shoi i skromnoi dushi: rakursyi odnoi biografii”; Kittel, “Ljubov Jakovlevna Gurevii als vorkdmpferin des russischen frauenwahlrecht”; G. A. Petrova, “Gurevich, Liubov Iakovlevna,” in Gutsche, Weber, and Rollberg, *Modern Encyclopedia of East Slavic, Baltic, and Eurasian Literatures*, vol. 9, 167–168; Stanley Rabinowitz, “Gurevich, Liubov Iakovlevna,” in Ledkovsky, Rosenthal, and Zirin, *Dictionary of Russian Women Writers*, 235–238; Rabinowitz, “Northern Herald”; Rabinowitz, “No Room of Her Own”; Carnicke, *Stanislavsky in Focus*; and Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights.”

50. On Gurevich and the Mutual Philanthropic Society, see Stasov, *Nadezhda Vasil’evna Stasova*, 444. On when Gurevich’s early feminist activity began, see Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 176; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 34.

51. “Gurevich,” in Fidler, *Pervye literaturnye shagi*, 190.

52. *Ibid.*, 188.

53. “M. K. Bashkirsteva (Biografiko-psikhologicheskii etiud),” *Russkoe bogatstvo* 2 (1888): 73–123.

54. A collection of Gurevich’s critical essays may be found in Liubov Gurevich, *Literatura i estetika: Kriticheskie opyti i etiudy* (Moscow: Russkaia mysl’, 1912). After the October Revolution, Gurevich became known primarily for her work with Stanislavskii. See Gurevich, *O Stanislavskom; Sbornik vospominanii, 1863–1938, Sostavlen i otrektirovan L. Ia. Gurevich, Peresmotren i dopolnen N. D. Volkovym, kommentarii E. N. Semianovskoi* (Moscow: Vserossiiskoe Teatrnoe Obshchestvo, 1948), which also contains an autobiographical essay (“Vospominaniia L. Ia. Gurevich,” 117–176); and about Gurevich and Tolstoy, see Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 176.

55. The information about the probable father of Gurevich’s child was supplied by Stanley Rabinowitz (conversation with the author, Amherst, Massachusetts, 1995).

56. Borzova and Novikov, “Maria Bezobrazova—Pervaia zhenshchina-filosof ‘Serebriano veka.’”

57. For the quotations, see *ibid.*, 157. For Rozanov on the third sex, see Vasilii V. Rozanov, *Liudi lunnogo sveta: Metafizika khristianstva* (St. Petersburg, 1911).

58. Carolyn R. Marks, “Provid(ing) Amusement for the Ladies’: The Rise of the Russian Women’s Magazine in the 1880s,” in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 93–119; and Christine Ruane, “The Development of a Fashion Press in Later Imperial Russia: Moda: Zhurnal dlia svetskikh liudei,” in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 74–92.

59. Shtakensneider, *Dnevnik i zapiski, 1854–1886*, 400.

60. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 155–156.

61. On Madeleine Pelletier, see Gordon, *Integral Feminist*. Gordon does not devote much space to *La suffragiste*. Pelletier complained to a friend that her backer’s articles “betrayed too much of a personal grudge, but she paid for half of the printing” (Gordon, *Integral Feminist*, 87, 280).

62. Goldberg (Ruthchild), “Russian Women’s Movement, 1859–1917,” 174.

63. Nadezhda Belozerskaia, “Zhenskii vopros,” *Zhenskoe delo*, no. 1 (January 1899): 3.

64. *Zhenskoe delo*, December 1900, 1–2. *Novoe delo* ceased publication at the end of 1902. Other feminist journals of the period include the Kiev based *Zhenskaia mys'* (1909–1910). Feminist author Olga Shapir was instrumental in founding this short-lived Kiev women's journal.

65. *Zhenskoe delo*, no. 1 (January 1899): 1.

66. Arian's personal archives are located at the Institut russkoi literatury (Institute for Russian Literature, IRL), or Pushkinskii Dom, in St. Petersburg, in Fond 117 and at Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia Arian, RGALI, Fond 1018. The information about the *Calendar* office is in IRL, Fond 117 (P.N. Arian), opis 1, ed. khr. 8, s. 1.

67. *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar*; Jane Gary Harris, "Pervyi zhenskii Calendar (The First Women's Calendar, 1899–1915)," in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 53–55, 54.

68. *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar na 1912*, Medical Section, 11–14.

69. *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar*; Harris, "Pervyi zhenskii Calendar (The First Women's Calendar, 1899–1915)," 54; and Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 191.

70. *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar na 1913*, 22.

71. See each issue of the *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar*.

72. Rochelle Ruthchild, "Arian, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia," in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 30; and "Arian, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia," in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 4–6, 4.

73. Maria I. Pokrovskaiia, "Ot redaktsii," *Zhenskii vestnik*, no. 1 (September 1904): 1, 2–6.

74. *Zhenskii vestnik*, no. 1 (September 1904).

75. Engelstein, *Keys to Happiness*, 396.

76. Verbitskaia's works sold more than Tolstoy and Chekhov. Engelstein, *Keys to Happiness*, cites Pokrovskaiia's article, "Kak muzhchina," *Zhenskii vestnik*, no. 12 (December 1910): 266–268. For more information about Verbitskaia, see Charlotte Rosenthal, "Achievement and Obscurity: Women's Prose in the Silver Age," in Clyman and Greene, *Women Writers in Russian Literature*, 149–170; and Charlotte Rosenthal, "The Silver Age: Highpoint for Women?" in Edmondson, *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union*, 32–47.

77. Pokrovskaiia, "Nashi tol'stye zhurnaly i zhenskoe dvizhenie," *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1910): 223–231, 227.

78. The Trial of the 193 was a series of criminal trials of students and others charged with revolutionary activity. Tsarist officials hoped to use the trials to influence public opinion against radical activists, but this strategy backfired. A majority of the defendants, including Sofia Perovskaia and Andrei Zheliabov, were acquitted. Many were radicalized by the entire process, which often included lengthy imprisonment. Perovskaia and Zheliabov in 1881 masterminded the assassination of Tsar Alexander II.

79. *Ibid.*, 4–5.

80. See especially Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*.

81. Ruthchild, "Arian, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia," 5, 30; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 176.

82. Ruthchild, "Arian, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia," 5–6, 30.

83. RGALI, Fond 1018 (Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia Arian), opis 1, delo 2, s. 24–26. These are notices of meetings of the professional section of ORT on November 17 and 29 and December 13, 1916; *ibid.*, opis 1, delo 1, s. 13.

84. Belitskaia, "Poliklinicheskii pomoshch' v dorevoliutsionnom Peterburge i uchastie v nei zhenshchin vrachei"; and Ruthchild, "Writing for Their Rights," 169. The Pokrovskaiia

quotation is from Maria Pokrovskaiia, “Dnevnik suffrazhistki,” *Zhenskii vestnik* 13, no. 3 (March 1917): 35–37, 36.

85. Belitskaia, “Poliklinicheskaiia pomoshch’,” 64–68; Linda Edmondson, “Maria Pokrovskaiia and *Zhenskii vestnik*: Feminist Separatism in Theory and Practice,” in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 197–98; and Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights,” 169.

86. Maria I. Pokrovskaiia, *Po podvalam, cherdakom i uglovnym kvartiram Peterburga* (St. Petersburg: Tipografia P. P. Soikin, 1903). See the last page for a list of Pokrovskaiia’s public health pamphlets.

87. See Belitskaia, “Poliklinicheskaiia pomoshch’”; Edmondson, “Maria Pokrovskaiia and *Zhenskii vestnik*”; Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights”; and Bernstein, *Sonia’s Daughters*.

88. Barbara T. Norton, “Journalism as a Means of Empowerment: The Early Career of Ekaterina Kuskova,” in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 228.

89. Ariadna V. Tyrkova-Williams, *To, chego bol’she ne budet* (Paris: Vozrozhdenie, 1954), 7–138, describes Tyrkova’s childhood and adolescence. Her sequel, *Na putiakh k svobode*, also has some information about Tyrkova’s childhood but mainly continues the story beyond 1905, focusing on the period from 1905 to the outbreak of World War I. The quotations are from Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 7 and 8.

90. On Tyrkova’s meeting with this cousin, see Tyrkova-Williams, *To, chego bol’she ne budet*, 164–165. For more information about von Gertsfel’d, see Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 139; and Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*. At von Gertsfel’d’s trial the prosecutor, justifying a sentence of death, sought to de-feminize her, arguing that she was not a real woman, “but a monster, a sort of hermaphrodite.” Her sentence was commuted to hard labor for life; exiled to Siberia, she died in 1898 (Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 819).

91. *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo 70-x godov XIX veka: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, edited by S. N. Valk, 2 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), vol. 2, 383. Tyrkov may have been a co-operative witness. In any case he was no troublemaker once in jail. Years later, a jail official remembered him to Tyrkova, herself then in prison, as someone from a “good family.” Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 146; and Tyrkova-Williams, *To, chego bol’she ne budet*, 166–168.

92. Tyrkova-Williams, *To, chego bol’she ne budet*, 132–267.

93. Borman, *A. V. Tyrkova-Vil’iams po ee pis’mam i vospominaniiam syna*, 29–35; and Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 13–14.

94. Christine Ruane discusses the marriage ban for schoolteachers, one aspect of the restrictions on married women’s work, in “Vestal Virgins of St. Petersburg,” and in her book *Gender, Class, and the Professionalization of Russian City Teachers*.

95. Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 16.

96. On Tyrkova’s decision to become a writer, see Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 13; and Borman, *A. V. Tyrkova-Vil’iams po ee pis’mam i vospominaniiam syna*, 37–38.

97. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 24.

98. *Ibid.*, 13; and Borman, *A. V. Tyrkova-Vil’iams po ee pis’mam i vospominaniiam syna*, 37–50. On Tyrkova’s early career as a journalist, see also Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights,” 167–195, especially 170–172.

99. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 216–217.

100. *Ibid.*, 63.

101. *Ibid.*, 62–63. Tyrkova’s “Even the sharp, quick-witted Teffi, refused to make a speech” is from the original Russian: “Dazhe boikaia, nakhodchivaia Teffi otkreshchivalas’ ot rechei” (*ibid.*, 62). *Ibid.*, 131–169.

102. The quotation and some biographical information are from V., “Pamiati A. S. Miliukovi, Sobranie Russkoi seksii universitetskikh zhenshchin,” 2. Other biographical information



is from Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 128–129; and Zhikharëva, “Anna Sergeevna Miliukova,” 2, 3.

103. The quotation is from Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 149–150; “Pamiati A. S. Miliukovoi,” *Posledniia novosti*, March 9, 1935, 2; and Zhikharëva, “Anna Sergeevna Miliukova,” 2, 3.

104. Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 150–151. Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 19–20.

105. Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 262.

106. Getty Archive, van der Poel Archive, 2002.M.16, III, Tatiana Warscher, “What I Remember about Pavel Nicolaevic, His Wife Anna Sergeevna, Their Son Sereza (Sergej) and All about the Events of Our Friendship,” 11, 12.

107. Zhikharëva, “Anna Sergeevna Miliukova,” April 5, 1935, 2.

108. *Otchet Komiteta Moskovskogo obshchestva uluchsheniia uchasti zhenshchiny s oktiabriia 1899 g. po 1-e ianvariia 1901 g.* (Moscow: Pervaia zhenskaia tipografiia E. K. Gerbek, 1901), 3, 6. On Mirovich as vice president, see *Otchet Komiteta Moskovskogo obshchestva uluchsheniia uchasti zhenshchiny za 1901g.* (Moscow: Pervaia zhenskaia tipografiia E. K. Gerbek, 1902), 20; on Blandova, see *ibid.*, 29. On Verbitskaia, see *Otchet o deiatel'nosti Obshchestva ulushcheniia uchasti zhenshchiny v Moskve za 1904 g.* (Moscow: Pervaia zhenskaia tipografiia E. K. Gerbek, 1905), 4. On Armand in 1910, see *Otchet o deiatel'nosti Obshchestva ulushcheniia uchasti zhenshchiny v Moskve za 1910 g.* (Moscow: Pervaia zhenskaia tipografiia E. K. Gerbek, 1911), 17.

109. *Godovoi otchet Russkogo zhenskogo vzaimno-blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo za 1895/96 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1897); and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 52. Kudelli's listing is in *Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimno-blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo: Otchet za 1897–1898gg.*, 163. On Kudelli's lecture, see *Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimno-blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo: Otchet za 1899 i 1900 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1901), 119.

110. GARF, Fond 63, opis 9, ed. khr. 3761, “Okhrana v Moskve.” s. 8, a document dated August 26, 1898, marked “Secret” identifies the founders and why they organized the women's union; pages 6–7 contain the group's articles of organization. *Ibid.*, s. 6. *Ibid.*, s. 9.

111. Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 151.

### Chapter 3. *The Limits of Liberation*

*Epigraph:* “V. N. Belokonskaia,” *Zhenskoe delo* (June 10, 1910): 15.

1. The law dated from 1864 and stipulated that the proxy could be any male who met the qualification himself, or a father, husband, son-in-law, or cousin. In 1890 the law was changed, eliminating some of the women's choices. The proxy had to be a relative, and the list of permissible relatives was extended to include grandsons and nephews. If a woman had no relatives, or had none she would trust with her proxy vote, she was out of luck. From S. Berednikov, “Ob uchastie zhenshchin v zemskom samoupravlenii v Rossii,” *Trudy 1908*, 413–414.

2. The literature about women activists in Russia is growing. Besides Edmondson (*Feminism in Russia*) and Stites (*Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*), see, for example, among others, Pavliuchenko, *Zhenshchiny v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii: Ot Marii Volkonskoi do Very Figner*; Aivazova, *Russkie zhenshchiny v labirinte*; Yukina, *Russkii feminism kak vyzov*; Tishkin, *Zhenshchina v grazhdanskom obshchestve*; and Uspenskaia, Dmitrieva, and Kulik, *Zhenshchiny v sotsialnoi istorii Rossii*. The only scholarly study so far translated into English is Pushkareva, *Women in Russian History*; on the period discussed, see *ibid.*, 187–253. On women's social activism in a variety of settings, see Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*; Lindenmeyr, *Poverty Is Not a Vice*; Norton and Gheith, *Improper*

*Profession*; Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*; and Belitskaia, “Poliklinicheskaiia pomoshch v dorevoliutsionnom Peterburge i uchastie v nei zhenshchin vrachei.” On women in exile, see, for example, Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*.

3. Alexandra Kollontai, *Sotsial’nyiia osnovy zhenskogo voprosa* (St. Petersburg: Znaniye, 1909), 21. For a fuller discussion of the entry of women and peasants into the political sphere, see Linda Edmondson, “Women’s Rights, Civil Rights, and the Debate over Citizenship in the 1905 Revolution,” in Edmondson, *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union*, 77–100.

4. Goldberg (Ruthchild), “Russian Women’s Movement,” 106. The quotations are from Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, 190.

5. Ariadna Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova i eia vremia*, 2 vols, vol. 1, *Sbornik Pamiati Anny Pavlovny Filosofovoi* (Petrograd: Izd. M. O. Vol’f, 1915), 414.

6. *Ibid.*, 426–427. Anna N. Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 16.

7. Vladimir I. Lenin, “The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma, and Insurrection,” in Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), vol. 9, 179; and Paul Miliukov, *God bor’by: Publitsisticheskaia khronika, 1905–1906* (St. Petersburg: Tip. “Obshchestvennaia pol’za,” 1907), 70.

8. Miliukov, *God bor’by*, 70.

9. “Noviia techeniia,” *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1906*, 327–328.

10. Kollontai, *Sotsial’nye osnovy*, 303.

11. Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo*, 16. Witte’s comments are in Tolstoi’s diary of his term as minister of education, from October 31, 1905, to April 24, 1906. See I. I. Tolstoi, *Vospominaniia Ministra Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia grafa I. I. Tolstogo 31 oktiabria 1905 g.–24 apreliia 1906 g.* Sostavitel’ L. I. Tolstaia (Moscow: Greko-Latinskii kabinet lu. A. Shichalina, 1997), 74.

12. Both quotations are from Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 427.

13. For a useful discussion of similar arguments around the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which gave the vote to black men but not to any women, and was ratified in July 1868, see Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 145–158.

14. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 59–63, has a good description of the literary banquets she attended in St. Petersburg, starting in 1901. On the attendance of women at the banquets, see *ibid.*, 62.

15. The “ballast” quotation is from Anna Andreevna Kal’manovich, *Zhenskoe dvizhenie i ego zadachi* (St. Petersburg: Rabotnik, 1908), 1–2. On the failure to include women and accusations of “untimeliness,” see Ariadna Tyrkova, “Pervyi zhenskii s’ezd,” *Zarnitsy: Literaturno-politicheskii sborni 2* (1909): 172–209, 184; and Praskov’ia Arian, “Zhenshchina i politika,” *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1906g.* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 386–399, 399. On the smirks and shrugs, see Liubov Gurevich’s comments in *Ravnopravie zhenshchin: Tre’tii s’ezd soiuza ravnopravnosti zhenshchin, Otchet i protokoly* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Ia.Trei, 1906), 17.

16. Gurevich, as quoted in Tyrkova, “Pervyi zhenskii s’ezd,” 184.

17. Gurevich, as quoted in *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 17.

18. Tsentral’nyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskvy (TsIAM, State Historical Archive of the City of Moscow), Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” opis 3, delo 17, Ekaterina Chekhova, 19 and 19 back.

19. N. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow: Tip. I. D. Sytina, 1908), 4–5. Part of the history of the Women’s Equal Rights Union can be found in English in International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), *Report of Third Conference* (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1906), 97–102. The conference was held August 7–11, 1906.

20. On the Pankhursts, see Emmeline Pankhurst, *My Own Story* (New York: Hearst's International Library, 1914); E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst: The Suffragette Struggle for Women's Citizenship* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1935); Morgan, *Suffragists and Liberals*; Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst*; Pugh, *Pankhursts*; and Offen, *European Feminisms*. On the IWSA, see IWSA, *Report of Second Conference* (Berlin: IWSA, 1904); the date of the Berlin conference was June 3–4, 1904.

21. "Minutes of the Delegate Sessions of the All-Russian Union of Equal Rights for Women," unpublished *Soiuz ravnopravnosti zhenshchin* reports in the London Library. I am indebted to Linda Edmondson for providing me with copies of these documents. The towns listed (only eighteen are included) are Ekaterinoslav, Iaroslavl, Kaluga, Kiev, Maloarkhangel'sk, Minsk, Orel, Penza, Petersburg, Riazan, Rybinsk, Saratov, Smolensk, Tula, Tver, Vladimir, Voronezh, and Yalta. See also Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 5; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 199.

22. "Minutes of the Delegate Sessions of the All-Russian Union of Equal Rights for Women."

23. Mirovich, *Iz istorii*, 4.

24. Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii (GARF, State Archive of the Russian Federation), Fond 516, "Soiuz ravnopravniia zhenshchin," opis 1, delo 14. Alexandra Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii ocherk," *Proletarskaia revoliutsii* 3 (1921): 261–302, 267–268; and Vakhterova, *V. P. Vakhterov*, 187–189.

25. See, for example, O. Vol'kenshtein, *Komu i zachem nuzhno vseobshchee izbiratel'noe pravo* (St. Petersburg, 1906). On the IWSA, see IWSA, *Report of Third Conference*, 20.

26. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 17.

27. *Ibid.*, 39, 17, 39. Gurevich remained in Russia after the Revolution, abandoning open political activism for theatrical studies. She stayed in contact with at least some of her feminist friends. Correspondence with Arian and Chekhova can be found in their personal archives.

28. Vakhterova, *V. P. Vakhterov*, 191.

29. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 1, 48–49, 52–53; and Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 24–26. Aside from the pamphlets written by Women's Union members, a number of other pro-suffrage pamphlets appeared at this time. These include Movich, *Izbiratel'noe pravo i zhenshchina* (St. Petersburg, 1906); P. G. Mizhnev, *Zhenskii vopros i zhenskoe dvizhenie* (St. Petersburg, 1906); Nikolai E. Kudrin, *O ravnopravnosti zhenshchin* (St. Petersburg: Tip. N. N. Klobukova, 1905); and S. Iuzhakov, *Zhenshchina-izbiratel'nitsa* (Moscow: Tipo-lit. Russkago tovarishchestva, 1906). Olga Vladimirovna Kaidanova (b. 1867) also wrote; see Kaidanova, *Ocherki po istorii narodnogo obrazovaniia v Rossii i SSSR na osnove lichnogo opyta i nabliudenii*. The book was written while she lived in Canada.

30. TsIAM, Fond 2251, "Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova," Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, "Semena griadushchego. Zhizn' moei mamy," opis 3, delo 17, s. 29. "I say we because I was my mother's ardent helper in this work" is from the original Russian: "byla plammennoi maminoi pomoshchitse v etoi rabote." Chekhova left a three-volume unpublished memoir; it is part of TsIAM, Fond 2251, dela 1–4, Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova, "V predrassvetkoi mgle" (In the flash of approaching dawn). The unpublished memoirs are listed as "1866–1916" but the material in the archives ends in 1900. Ekaterina's account is the only eyewitness record of her activism as well as that of her parents.

31. TsIAM, Fond 2251, "Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova," Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, "Semena griadushchego. Zhizn' moei mamy," opis 3, delo 17, s. 33.

32. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego. Zhizn’ moei mamy,” opis 3, dela 1–3; and “V predrassvetkoi mgle” (In the flash of approaching dawn), *passim*.

33. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Khronologicheskie daty zhizni Marii Aleksandrovny Chekhovoi,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 1–3. Maria Chekhova’s mother was Ekaterina Ivanovna Mertsalova, who died in 1872. Her father remarried in 1877, to Serafima Alekseevna Popova, but took a job in Irkutsk in 1880, leaving Maria in the care of her maternal grandmother for the next ten years.

34. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Khronologicheskie daty zhizni Marii Aleksandrovny Chekhovoi,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 1–3; M. V. Sedelnikova, *N. V. Chekhov: Vidnyi deiatel’ narodnogo prosveshcheniia* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel’stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1960), 9; and Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights,” 170–171.

35. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego. Zhizn’ moei mamy,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 29.

36. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” opis 3, delo 4, Maria A. Chekhova Autobiography, “V bor’be,” 64.

37. *Ibid.*, 41–42.

38. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Khronologicheskie daty zhizni Marii Aleksandrovny Chekhovoi,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 2–3. Chekhova gave birth to seven children in quick succession [Ekaterina (b. 1891), Liudmila (b. 1892), Anna (b. 1894), Alexandr (1895–1916), Vladimir (1896–1900), Lev (1897–1899), and Sofia (b. 1901)]. The Chekhovs’ daughters survived into adulthood; two of their three sons died very young.

39. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Khronologicheskie daty zhizni Marii Aleksandrovny Chekhovoi,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 1–3. “M. A. Chekhova,” *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1912 god* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 8–11. For more information on N. V. Chekhov, see Sedelnikova, *N. V. Chekhov*, especially 58–66.

40. “M. A. Chekhova,” *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1912 god*, 8–11.

41. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego. Zhizn’ moei mamy,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 30.

42. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” Ekaterina Nikolaevna Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego. Zhizn’ moei mamy,” opis 3, delo 17, s. 29.

43. “Soiuz ravnopraviiia zhenshchin,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1905): 343. The delay in printing an account of the meeting was due to censorship.

44. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 6–10, 11; and IWSA, *Report of Third Conference*, 97–99. The “four-tail” expression was commonly used at the time.

45. The best published descriptions of the early internal dynamics of the Women’s Union can be found in *Ravnopravie zhenshchin* and in articles in *Zhenskii vestnik*.

46. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 6.

47. Kollontai, *Sotsial’nie osnovy*, 301.

48. Originally, *baba* meant simply “a married woman,” but it became an all-purpose derogatory term for women, especially peasant, uneducated, or old women. In different situations it can mean the equivalent of “dumb broad,” “chick,” or “old lady.” It can also be applied to men considered weak, and in that context can mean “molly-coddle,” “milksoy,” or “old woman.” See A. I. Smirnitsky, *Russian-English Dictionary* (Moscow: Russky Yazyk Publishers,

1987), 36. The reports about peasant women can be found in *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 25; and Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 27.

49. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 2.

50. N. Mirovich, "Tretii congress 'Mezhdunarodnogo soiuzu izbiratel'nykh prav zhenshchin v Kopenagagene (7–12 avgusta, 1906 g.)," *Russkaia mysl'* (November 1906): 125–149, 144.

51. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 2.

52. Sedel'nikova, N. V. *Chekhov*, 69. See also Seregny, *Russian Teachers and Peasant Revolution*.

53. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 41.

54. *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1905), 124; Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii ocherk," 268, 270; and *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 2, 25, 3.

55. Zasulich's comments are in Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii ocherk," 267–268; see page 272 for the Kollontai quotation, italics in original.

56. *Ibid.*, 25.

57. *Ibid.*, 10, 25.

58. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 25.

59. *Ibid.*; and Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 102–106.

60. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 104–105.

61. Arkadii L. Sidorov, ed., *Vysshii pod'em revoliutsii 1905–1907 gg: Vooruzhennnye vosstaniia Noiabr-Dekabr 1905 goda*, part 4 (Moscow: Akademii nauk SSSR, 1957), 14.

62. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 37–38, for the quotation, and for the description of the meeting, see *Saratovskii listok* 54 (March 15, 1905): 3.

63. *Ibid.* Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 37–38.

64. *Voronezhskie bol'sheviki v revoliutsii 1905–1907 gg.* (Voronezh: Voronezhskoe knizhnoe izd-vo, 1955), III, as cited in Shcherbinin, "Vliianie voim i revoliutsii nachala XX v. na razvitie obshchestvennoi initsiativy i samodeiatel'nosti zhenshchin v gorodakh Chernozemnogo Tsentra (1904–1917gg.)," 2.

65. On the Women's Political Clubs, see Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 24; *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 26; and M. Margulies, "Zhenskii politicheskii klub," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1907 god*, 373–374. Biographical information on Margulies-Aitova can be found in *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1914 god*, 323. Kollontai mentions two Socialist Women's Clubs formed at the same time, but it is not clear whether they were two branches of the Women's Political Clubs. See Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii ocherk," 371.

66. For information on Kollontai's activities, see Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii ocherk," 267–271.

67. See Picq, "'Bourgeois Feminism' in France," 330–343; and Boxer, "Rethinking the Socialist Construction," 131–158.

68. At the turn of the twentieth century, Russian women's life expectancy was thirty-three. See Hutton, *Russian and West European Women*, 204.

69. On Chekhova, Chekhov, Chervinskaia, Goltseva, and the workers' courses, see *K 25 letiiu Prechistsenskikh rabochikh kursov, 1897–1922*; Chemodanova, *Prechistsenskie rabochie kursy*, 47; Grishina, "Zhenskie organizatsii v Rossii (1905g.-fevral'-mart, 1917g.)" and "Dvizhenie za politicheskoe ravnopravie zhenshchin v gody pervoi Rossiiskoi revoliutsii." On Chekhova, see also "M. A. Chekhova," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1912 god*, edited by Praskov'ia B. Arian (St. Petersburg, 1911), 8–11; Ruthchild, "Writing for Their Rights," 167–195; Rochelle Ruthchild, "Mariia Aleksandrovna Argamakova Chekhova," in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 13–15; Rochelle Ruthchild, "Mariia Aleksandrovna Argamakova

Chekhova,” in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 95–98; and “Shabanova, Anna Nikolaevna,” in Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 210–212. On Chekhov, see Sedel'nikova, *N. V. Chekhov*. On Vakhterova and Vakhterov, see Vakhterova, *V. P. Vakhterov*. As is too often the case, there is little about Vakhterova's life in her biography of her husband.

70. On Ivanova, see *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1914 god*, 306i; *Zhenskii vestnik*, October 1913, 215–216; *Sbornik na pomoshch' uchashchimsia zhenshchinam* (Moscow: I. N. Kushnerov, 1901), 242; *Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauz-Efron* (Petrograd, 1914), vol. 26, 68; and Rochelle Ruthchild and Charlotte Rosenthal, “Mirovich, N.,” in Ledkovsky, Rosenthal, and Zirin, *Dictionary of Russian Women Writers*, 431–432. On Liubov Gurevich, see chapter 2 in this book, note 49. On Anna Gurevich, see Grishina, “Zhenskie organizatsii v Rossii,” 95; and Evteeva, *Vysshie zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie) kursy*, 137.

71. On Shchepkina, see *Bol'shaia entsiklopediia* (St. Petersburg, 1905), vol. 20, 480; and Ruthchild, “Ekaterina Nikolaevna Shchepkina,” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 72–74; and Ruthchild, “Ekaterina Nikolaevna Shchepkina,” in de Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 507–509. On Arian, see *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar'*, 1900–1915; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 176, 198, 202; Ruthchild, “Feminist Publications and Publishers in St. Petersburg”; “Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia Arian,” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, 4–6; and “Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia Arian,” in de Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 30–32.

72. See note 69 in this chapter for sources on Chekhova, Chekhov, Vakhterov, and Vakhterova. On Krupskaiia and Lenin, see McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution*, passim.

73. McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution*, 19. Wood, *Baba and Comrade*, 28–30, discusses evidence of Krupskaiia and Lenin's early thinking on female-male relations in their writing. Whatever their theory, Krupskaiia, with the help of her mother, took on much of the traditional role of helpmate to her man. As Stites has noted, the Social Democrats as a whole had traditional bourgeois marriages and women largely remained in secondary positions in the party before and after the Revolution (Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 186, 326). On Kudelli and Samoilova, see Evteeva, *Vysshie zhenskie kursy: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 147, 153.

74. Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 14. On the Bestuzhev courses in general, see Dudgeon, “Women and Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1905,” and “Forgotten Minority”; and Johanson, *Women's Struggle for Higher Education in Russia*.

75. GARF, Fond 516, opis 1, delo 3, 44–108.

76. GARF, Fond 516, opis 1, 50, 70, 77, and 100.

77. Johnson, *Russia's Educational Heritage*, 174. For comparative data on feminists in Europe, see Offen, *European Feminisms*, passim. For an insightful study of feminist activism in Latin America, see Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay*, passim. For information on Asian Pacific feminist activists, see DuBois, “Woman Suffrage: The View from the Pacific.” For information on Chinese feminists, see Zheng Wang, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment*; and Edwards, *Gender, Politics, and Democracy*.

78. A *feldsher* was the equivalent of a paramedic, someone who performed basic medical procedures, often in rural areas that lacked the presence of physicians.

79. GARF, Fond 516, opis 1, delo 3, 44–108.

80. Sanders, “Union of Unions,” 655.

81. Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 78–88.

82. Haimson, “Problem of Social Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Russia.”

83. Shchepkina, cited in Dudgeon, "Women and Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1905," 109.
84. *Vysshie zhenskiiye (Bestuzhevskie) kursy: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 170, for the total number of Bestuzhev graduates; statistics on doctors from USSR, Central Statistical Board of the Council of Ministers, *Women in the USSR*; general population figures from Dodge, *Women in the Soviet Economy*, 251; and comparative education figures from Gager, *Women's Rights Almanac*, 469. For a very useful discussion of the intelligentsia, its definition and role, see Leikina-Svirskaiia, *Intelligentsia v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka*. Leikina-Svirskaiia does not specifically devote attention to women in the intelligentsia. For the western European statistics, see Hutton, *Russian and West European Women*, 63.
85. Offen, *European Feminisms*, 223.
86. Pavel Miliukov, *Vospominaniia, 1859–1917*, edited by M. M. Karpovich and B. I. Elkin, 2 vols. (New York: Chekhov Publishing House, 1955), vol. 1, 308.
87. Hilda Smith, "Feminism and the Methodology of Women's History," in Carroll, *Liberating Women's History*, 369–384, 374.
88. "Belokonskaia," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1913 god*, 35–40; "V. N. Belokonskaia," *Zhenskoe delo*, June 10, 1910, 15. Piotrovskaiia's poem is in GARF, Fond 516, "Soiuz ravnopraviiia zhenshchin," opis 1, delo 14, s. 121; Shakhmatova's question is in GARF, Fond 516, opis 1, delo 1, s. 57.
89. The letter from the peasant girl is quoted in Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 28.
90. International Congress of Women, *Report of Council Transactions*, 7 vols. (London: Unwin, 1900), vol. 1, 323.
91. "Pobornitsa nashego ravnopraviiia," *Zhenskii vestnik* (October 1913): 215–216; "Zinaida Sergeevna Mirovich-Ivanova," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1914 g.*, opposite 306i; "Dva vechera," *Zhenskoe delo* 24 (December 15, 1913): 2; and A. Kizevetter, "Pamiati Zinaidy Sergeevny Mirovich," *Russkaia mysl'* 9 (1913): 140.
92. Rosenberg, *Liberals in the Russian Revolution*, 155n69. Rosenberg notes that Shchepkina's twin brother, Nikolai N. Shchepkin, a member of the Kadet Central Committee, owned property in Moscow worth thirty thousand rubles in addition to ten thousand desiatins of land (1 desiatin equals 2.7 acres).
93. Picq, "'Bourgeois Feminism' in France," 330–331. See also Boxer, "Rethinking the Socialist Construction," passim.
94. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, "Osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie v Rossii," *Zhenskii vestnik* (December 1905): 353–356, 354.
95. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 101.
96. On Madeleine Pelletier, see Gordon, *Integral Feminist*.
97. See, for example, "Programma zhenskoi progressivnoi partii," *Zhenskii vestnik*, no. 1 (January 1906): 26–29, 26; "Gosudarstvennaia Duma," *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1905): 321–324; "Novyi izbiratel'nyi zakon," *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1907): 161–162; and "Zhenshchiny ob'edinaies," *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1907): 1–7.
98. "Programma zhenskoi progressivnoi partii," 26–29.
99. *Ibid.*, 26–29.
100. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 328–337.
101. "Zadacha zhenskoi progressivnoi partii," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1906): 65–69.
102. "Klub zhenskoi progressivnoi partii," *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1907): 123–125; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 75.

103. “Novyia techeniia v zhenskom dvizhenii v Rossii,” *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1905 god*, 332–333.

104. *Ibid.*, 325–333.

105. *Ibid.*, 324–333. Rossiiskaia natsional’naia biblioteka (Russian National Library, RNL), Zemstvo Publications Collection, *Zhurnaly Tverskogo ocherednogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia*, February 2, 1905, 29.

106. “Novyia techeniia,” 325–333.

107. Descriptions of the Women’s Union members’ efforts can be found in Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 12–18; L. Ia. Gurevich, “Otnoshenie k voprosu o zhenskom izbiratel’nym prave russkogo obshchestve, zemst i gorodov,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (August–September 1907): 6–7; and *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 4–5.

108. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 3–4; Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 11–12; and Gurevich, “Otnoshenie k voprosu,” 5–7.

109. See Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*.

110. Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, 72–76.

111. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 308.

112. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 261–262.

113. *Ibid.*

114. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 262, 314. Miliukov’s biographers have followed his lead, paying little attention to this debate. See, for example, the most recent biography of Miliukov in these years: Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 144–145. Delving deeply into archival material, Stockdale does add to the slim available information about the relationship between the Miliukovs, although some of the most interesting material is in the footnotes. See, for example, *ibid.*, 336–337nn165–168. Makushin and Tribunskii, *Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov*, stick to the footnotes in discussing the Miliukovs’ relationship (see *ibid.*, 304n98).

115. Tyrkova, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 240. Miliukov was not alone among his peers in his dalliances. His fellow Kadet, Vasilii Maklakov, a distinguished lawyer and charismatic political leader, was known often to leave party meetings for trysts with various beautiful women. He had a long affair with Alexandra Kollontai, whom he met in Germany on his way to Paris. Maklakov claimed that until 1917 he did not know that Kollontai was a Bolshevik. See Budnitskii, “Vasilii Alekseevich Maklakov,” 527.

116. For the text of the resolution about suffrage, see O. V. Volubuev et al., eds., *S’ezdy i konferentsii konstitutsionno-demokraticeskoi partii*, vol. 1, 1905–1907gg, 36.

117. I. V. Gessen, *V dvukh vekakh: Zhiznennyi otchet* (Berlin: Speer and Schmidt, 1937), 205. Gessen (1866–1943), a lawyer, was a founder of the Kadet Party, coeditor with Miliukov of the party’s main newspaper, *Rech’* (Speech), and a Kadet deputy in the Second Duma. He emigrated after the Revolution, in 1920. V. D. Nabokov (1869–1922), also a lawyer, was the son of a tsarist minister of justice. He was also a founder of the Kadet Party, a deputy in the First Duma, and for a time chairman of the Kadet Central Committee. Vladimir D. Nabokov, the father of the author, died protecting Miliukov from a right-wing assassin’s bullets. On the Duma, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma Pervago Prizyva, portrety, kratkii biografii, i kharakteristiki deputatov* (Moscow, 1906), 76; Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, 396, 420; and Paul Miliukov, *Political Memoirs, 1905–1917*, edited by Arthur Mendel, translated by Carl Goldberg (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 487.

118. Isaac Babel’s grandfather was killed in such a pogrom in Odessa. See his autobiographical short story, Babel, *Istoriia moei golubiatni* (Moskva: Zemlia i fabrika,” 1926).



119. RGALI, Fond 1018, “Praskov’ia Naumovna Belenkaia-Arian,” opis 1, delo 116, s. 3 front. This is a letter containing a short autobiography of Kal’manovich’s public and feminist activity beginning in 1893, written on the letterhead of Samuil Eremeevich Kal’manovich, *prisi-azhnyi poverennyi* (barrister), with a St. Petersburg address, to Arian, dated 1913. Kal’manovich mentions nothing in this letter of her husband or family. I. V. Porokh, ed., *Ocherki istorii Saratovskogo Povolzh’ia (1894–1917)* (Saratov: Izd. Saratov universiteta, 1999), 241.

120. Mandelshtam, *1905 v politicheskikh protsessakh: zapiski zashchitnika*, 53–54. See also Iakov L’vovich Teitel’, *Iz moei zhizni za sorok let* (Paris: Izd. Ia. Povolotskii, 1925), 180–182. The *Ocherki istorii Saratovskogo Povolzh’ia* dates the pogrom from October 19–21, 226.

121. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova,” opis 1, delo 237, “Pis’mo A.A., Kal’manovich k M. A. Chekhovoi 1905–1912gg.,” s. 5.

122. The Kal’manoviches did not stay away from Saratov that long, and once again Samuil Kal’manovich ran afoul of the law. In this case Kal’manovich’s role as a wife and mother also forced her into the public sphere. On December 23, 1905, S. E. Kal’manovich was arrested in a Tambov courtroom while defending the peasant Kuznetsov, accused of murdering the Tambov vice governor, Bogdanovich. After a series of protests, including one from the Council of St. Petersburg lawyers, calling such arrests “nonsensical even for an autocratic state,” Anna Kal’manovich took the initiative. Traveling to St. Petersburg, she managed to meet with Prime Minister Witte on January 24, with a petition for the release of her husband, a matter already under review by the State Senate. The next day Kal’manovich was released and returned to Saratov. On S. E. Kal’manovich’s arrest, see “Delo ob ubiistve gen. Bogdanovicha i arest Kal’manovicha,” *Saratovskii dnevnik*, January 17, 1906, 3. On Anna Kal’manovich’s meeting with Witte, see *Saratovskii listok* (January 26, 1906): 3; and on the meeting and S. E. Kal’manovich’s return, see “Khronika,” *Saratovskii dnevnik*, January 27, 1906, 2.

123. *Ravnopravie zhenshechin*, 5.

124. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 18–21.

125. *Ibid.*, 21.

126. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 216.

127. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, has the fullest description of the feminist debate about the boycott. See especially pages 18–21.

128. Raymond Pearson, “Introduction” in Pearson, ed., *Vtoroi Vserossiiskii s’ezd Konstitutsionno-demokraticheskaia partii 5–11 ianvariia 1906 g.* (White Plains, N.Y.: Kraus International Publications, 1986), x, xxi. Pearson’s introduction is a helpful survey of the early Kadet congresses. He argues convincingly for their importance.

129. See Pearson, *Vtoroi Vserossiiskii s’ezd Konstitutsionno-demokraticheskaia partii*, xxxiii, 196–209; and Volubuev et al., *S’ezdy i konferentsii konstitutsionno-demokraticheskoi partii*, 156–158. Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 152, states that the vote was rejecting the Central Committee motion and keeping the women’s suffrage clause, but *S’ezdy i konferentsii*, a reprint of the *Biuleteni* of the Congresses, states that the “vast majority” (*gromadnoe bol’shinstvo*) of the delegates voted to reject the motion. The election pamphlets and leaflets in the “Russian Proclamations” collection at the London Library demonstrate that the Kadets downplayed their October resolution on women’s suffrage, emphasizing their support for “universal suffrage” without specifying that this formulation included women (see “Russian Proclamations” Folio, London Library).

130. See P. Struve, “Pis’mo iz Peterburga,” *Russkiiia vedomosti*, January 19, 1906, 2. Peter B. Struve (1870–1944), an economist and legal Marxist in the 1890s, helped found the Liberation

League. He was also a member of the Kadet Central Committee, a deputy in the Second Duma, and one of the contributing authors of *Vekhi* (Landmarks) in 1909. He took the side of the Whites in the Civil War, first with General Deniken and then with General Wrangel, the two main leaders of the White armies, which fought a losing struggle against the Bolsheviks from 1917 through 1920.

131. Pearson, *Vtoroi Vserossiiskii s'ezd Konstitutsionno-demokraticheskaiia partii 5–11 ianvariia 1906 g.*, xxxiii; and Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 239–242.

132. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 62.

133. See Pearson, *Vtoroi Vserossiiskii s'ezd Konstitutsionno-demokraticheskaiia partii 5–11 ianvariia 1906 g.*, xx.

134. *Ibid.*, 242.

135. *Ibid.*

136. For the debate about women's suffrage and Tyrkova's speech, see Volubuev et al., *S'ezdy i konferentsii konstitutsionno-demokraticheskoi partii*, vol. 1, 156–161. Most historians who have written about the Second Congress have either ignored completely or mentioned in passing this debate. Pearson does discuss it, but in his account Tyrkova is “diffident” and speaks “rather plaintively” (Pearson, *Vtoroi Vserossiiskii s'ezd Konstitutsionno-demokraticheskaiia partii 5–11 ianvariia 1906 g.*, xx, xxxiv).

137. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 243. Miliukov ignored the January congress suffrage debates in his memoirs (Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 355–358). So do other Kadets, except Tyrkova. Only Petrunkevich noted that the Kadet program remained substantially the same from 1905 to 1916, except for the addition of the mandatory suffrage clause. He attributed the original objections to women's suffrage to an “insignificant minority” (see I. I. Petrunkevich, *Iz zapisok obshchestvennago deiatelia: Vospominaniia*, edited by A. A. Kizevetter [Berlin: Petropolis verlag, 1934], 395).

138. The official record of the Second Congress states that the Central Committee recommendation was defeated by a “large majority” of the delegates (Pearson, *Vtoroi Vserossiiskii s'ezd Konstitutsionno-demokraticheskaiia partii 5–11 ianvariia 1906 g.*, 197; and Volubuev et al., *S'ezdy i konferentsii konstitutsionno-demokraticheskoi partii*, 156). Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 152, says the vote was 202–198, but I have found no confirmation of that in the sources she cites in her footnotes. In Terence Emmons's account the feminists and their supporters largely have no agency; the party leaders “allow” their own defeat. He writes that party leaders' experience since the announcement of the December 11 electoral law “apparently convinced them that most party members did not consider female suffrage a mandatory part of an acceptable electoral law, so they allowed the footnote to be deleted (not without some objections from their midst), thus satisfying those who felt strongly about the issue on principle and did not wish to see the party's commitment to female suffrage diminished by any qualifications” (see Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 56–57).

139. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*.

140. “Pis'ma A. V. Tyrkovoii-Viliams I. A. Buninu: Vstupitel'naia stat'ia, publikatsiia i primechaniia O.A. Kazninoi,” in Davis and Keldysh, *S dvukh beregov*, 327–369, 328.

#### Chapter 4. *The Fight for Equal Rights in the Russian Dumas and Finland*

In this chapter I have incorporated material from Ruthchild, “Women's Suffrage and Revolution in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917.” *Epigraphs: Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety. Pervyi sozyv* (May 2, 1906), vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Gos. tipografiia, 1906), 84. Alexandra

Gripenberg, “The Great Victory in Finland” (June 29, 1906), *The Englishwoman’s Review*, n.s., 38, no. 3 (July 16, 1906): 155–157, reprinted in Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, vol. 2, 1880–1950, 230.

1. Paul Miliukov, *God bor’by: Publitsisticheskaia khronika, 1905–1906* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia “Obshchestvennaia pol’za,” 1907), 401.

2. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 258.

3. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 5.

4. *Ibid.*, 35.

5. A comparison between accounts of the Women’s Union’s October and May congresses makes this clear. See, for example, *ibid.*, 5, 17, 35.

6. *Otchet tsentral’nago komiteta konstitutsionno-demokraticeskoi partii (Partii Narodnoi Svobody) za dva goda s 18 oktiabria 1905 g. po oktiabr’ 1907 g.* (St. Petersburg: Tip. tovarishchestvo “Obshchestvennaia pol’za,” 1907), 54.

7. *Ibid.*, 36.

8. *Ibid.*, 36, 37.

9. *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1906): 119–120. For all Russian party platforms, see *Polnoe sobranie podrobnnykh program suchestvuiushchikh russkikh politicheskikh partii* (Vilna, 1906).

10. *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1906): 93.

11. The address from the throne was in reality a short welcoming speech given by the tsar at the Winter Palace to the Duma delegates on the day of their opening session. In the speech he called the deputies the “best people of the Russian land” (*luchshikh liudei zemli russkoi*). The deputies alluded to this phrase, often sarcastically. See V. A. Maklakov, *The First State Duma: Contemporary Reminiscences*, translated by Mary Belkin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), 44–47.

12. Miliukov gives two different accounts of the drafting of the Duma’s reply to the address from the throne. In *God bor’by: Publitsisticheskaia khronika*, a collection of articles and essays written at the time, he says that the thirty-three-member commission drafted the address (404). In his memoirs, written in the late 1930s, he states that he and fellow Kadets Kokoshkin and Vinaver drafted the reply (Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 372).

13. *Ibid.*, 373. The Arian quotation is from Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 214, and is a reminder that opposition to women’s rights, and especially women’s suffrage, historically came from both the left and the right.

14. Miliukov, *Political Memoirs*, 104. For a sampling of the debate about the Kadets in the First Duma, see Maklakov, *First State Duma*; Pipes, *Struve, Liberal on the Right, 1905–1944*, 39; Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 359–365; Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 156–158; and V. V. Shelokhaev, ed., *P. N. Miliukov: Istorik, politik, diplomat: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2000), *passim*.

15. V. V. Shelokhaev, ed., *Programmy politicheskikh partii Rossii: Konets XIX–Nachalo XX vv* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1995), 210.

16. Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 356. The Trudoviks were derided by the Mensheviks as ineffective and simply subservient (“in tow”) to the Kadets (“na buksire za kadetami”); see Miliukov, *God bor’by: Publitsisticheskaia khronika*, 400. Miliukov considered the Trudovik leaders Aladin, Zhilkin, and Anikin unimpressive, and he regretted that the early cooperation between the two parties diminished. He blamed this on the growing influence of the “Party intellectuals” (“partiinie intelligenty”). Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 367–368.

17. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety. Pervyi sozyv* (May 2, 1906), vol. 1, 84.

18. Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 372.

19. In the debate the Trudovik Zabolotnyi sought to include all parts of the four-tail formula, but it is illustrative that the push for clarification of the term “universal suffrage” started with the amendment to make clear the extension of voting rights to women. See *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety. Pervyi sozyv* (May 3, 1906), 144.

20. Until women’s rights advocates finally forced a change, the slogan “universal suffrage” was generally asserted to apply only to men. In the United States the Fourteenth Amendment marked the first time the word “male” was used in the U.S. Constitution. See Flexner, *Century of Struggle*; and DuBois, *Woman Suffrage and Women’s Rights*.

21. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety. Pervyi sozyv* (May 3, 1906), 147. A group from Voronezh sent a collective letter to the Duma protesting his remarks. They wrote: “He is wrong to say that peasant women don’t want rights. Did he ask us? We women from Voronezh . . . understand well that we need our rights and land as much as do men. . . . We regret that there are no women representatives in the Duma, and we thank those delegates who keep us in mind and agitate for our rights” (Bil’shai, *Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 76–77). Bil’shai also reprints another letter from peasant women supporting women’s rights. Her book gives evidence of the largely untapped archival material on this subject. Another letter to Kruglikov, this time from Samaran peasant women, is reprinted in Kalinychev, *Gosudarstvennaia duma v Rossii v dokumentakh i materialakh*, 180–181. These women wrote of the “double yoke of despotism” that was the lot of women and stated their intention to fight for their liberation. Aside from the ones mentioned, letters from peasant women supporting their rights came from Simbirsk, Tver’, and Iaroslavl provinces. See also Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 68, 70; and Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 209.

22. Miliukov, *God bor’by: Publitsisticheskaia khronika*, 404. Miliukov mentions the accusation that he controlled the Duma from the tearoom in his memoirs. He acknowledges his power and influence but dismisses the notion that anyone could control the Duma. See Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 366.

23. *Stenograficheskie otchety*, May 3, 1906, 144, 143, 145–147, and 145.

24. Volubuev, *S’ezdy i konferentsii konstitutsionno-demokraticheskoi partii*, 189; and Raymond Pearson, ed., *Vtoroi vserossiiskii s’ezd konstitutsionno-demokraticheskoi partii 5–11 ianvariia 1906 g.* (White Plains, N.Y.: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 271.

25. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, May 3, 1906, 140.

26. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, May 4, 1906, 184. *Zhenskii vopros v Gosudarstvennoi Dume: Iz stenograficheskikh otchetov o zasiedaniiax Gosudarstvennoi Dumy* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 22.

27. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, May 4, 1906, 143.

28. *Ibid.*, 144.

29. *Ibid.*, 150. Another source for all the debate about women’s rights in the First Duma is the feminist pamphlet *Zhenskii vopros v Gosudarstvennoi Dume*. See also Miliukov, *God bor’by: Publitsisticheskaia khronika*, 404; Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 208–210; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 66–71.

30. *Soliani gorodok* (Little Salt City) referred to the building’s original function as a salt storage facility.

31. “Zhenskii miting,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (May 1906): 153–155, 154.

32. *Ibid.*, 153–154.

33. Maksim Vinaver, *Konflikty v pervoi Dume* (St. Petersburg: Tsent. Tipo-lit. M. Ia. Minkova, 1907), 55. “Zhenskii miting.”

34. M. Nevedomskii was the pseudonym for the Menshevik critic and publicist Mikhail Petrovich Miklashevskii (1866). See <http://feb-web.ru/feb/litenc/encyclop/le7/le7-6431.htm>

(accessed June 9, 2009). The Liberationists' widely used "four-tail" (*cheterekhvostka*) suffrage formulation (universal, direct, equal, and secret) was further clarified in the *semichlennyi*, or seven-part formula, with the clarifications "without regard to sex, nationality and religion." See N. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow: Tip. I. D. Sytina, 1908), 6–10; and Goldberg (Ruthchild), "Russian Women's Movement," 97n23.

35. "Zhenskii miting," *Zhenskii vestnik* (May 1906): 153–155, 154.

36. *Ibid.*, 154, 155.

37. Vinaver, *Konflikty v pervoi Dume*, 55–56, 58.

38. *Ibid.*, 58–59.

39. *Ibid.*, 287.

40. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 351.

41. Bernard Pares, *My Russian Memoirs* (London: J. Cape, 1931), 113.

42. Nikolai Astrov, Fedor Kokoshkin, Sergei Muromtsev, Pavel Novgorodtsev, and Dmitrii Shakhovskoi, eds., *Konstitutionno-demokraticheskaia partiia, Zakonodatel'nye proekty i predpolozheniia partii narodnoi svobody 1905–1907* (St. Petersburg: Tip. T-va "Obshchestvennaia pol'za," 1907), 2–5.

43. *Ibid.*, 3.

44. *Gosudarstvennaia дума: Stenograficheskie otchety. Pervyi sozyv*, June 6, 1906, 1065–1066.

45. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1906, 1050; *ibid.*, June 8, 1906, 1097–1098.

46. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1906, 1013.

47. It is hard to determine from the existing evidence available the exact number of signatures on the petitions presented to the First Duma. Estimates especially vary on the petition presented by the Russian Women's Society. Petrazhitskii, in his Duma speech, claimed that the petition had "more than" four thousand signatures (*Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, 1058). Shabanova says there were five thousand signatures. N. V. Chekhov says there were forty-five hundred (Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 16–17; and N. V. Chekhov, "Petitsiia zhenshchin v gosudarstvennuu dumu," *Soiuz zhenshchin* [June–July 1907]: 5–7).

48. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, June 6, 1906, 1061. Petrazhitskii's entire speech is on pages 1058–1061. It was distributed as a pamphlet (Lev I. Petrazhitskii, *O pol'ze politicheskikh prav zhenshchin* [St. Petersburg, 1907]) and reprinted in the *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1910 god*, 29–35.

49. Akhtiamov, as cited in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, June 8, 1906, 1112. Also found in Olga A. Vol'kenshtein, "Zhenskii vopros v trekh gosudarstvennykh dumakh," *Trudy 1908 Congress*, 893–903, 900.

50. Aladin, as cited in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, June 8, 1906, 1100.

51. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1906, 1213.

52. *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 51–52. Undaunted, the Union members printed up their report as a pamphlet, adding an introduction. To date, I have not been able to locate a copy of this pamphlet.

53. O. Klirikova, "Zakonoproekt o ravnopravii zhenshchin," *Soiuz zhenshchin*, January 1907, 3–5, 5.

54. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, "Zashchitniki i protivniki ravnopravii zhenshchin v pervoi gosudarstvennoi Dume," *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1907): 161–176, 176.

55. See Daley and Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond*, which is particularly helpful on the suffrage movements in Australia and New Zealand. Daley and Nolan include Finland but not Russia in their "Chronological List of Women's Suffrage Dates" (*ibid.*, 349–352). On the Finnish struggle, see N. Mirovich, *Pobeda zhenskogo dvizheniia v Finliandiii* (Moscow, 1907) and in *Russkaia mysl'*, no. 7, pt. 2 (1907): 118–136; Vera Figner, "Zhenskoe dvizhenie v Finliandii," *Pervyi zhen-*

*skii calendar na 1908 g.*, pt. 5, 9–17; Annie Furuhielm, “Report for the Finnish Women’s Alliance,” in IWSA, *Report of the Third Conference*, 75–79 (the conference was held in Copenhagen, August 7–11, 1906); Jallinoja, “Women’s Liberation Movement in Finland”; Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom”; Lähtenmäki, “Foreign Contacts of the Finnish Working Women’s Movement”; Manninen and Setälä, *Lady with the Bow*, 51; and Offen, *European Feminisms*, 215–216. The official history of the women’s suffrage movement noted the Finnish achievement. See Ida Husted Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 6 (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 771–773.

56. Finland remained part of the Russian Empire until 1917. The greater independence it gained as a result of the 1906 reforms were soon challenged by the tsarist regime.

57. See Irma Sulkunen, “Finland—A Pioneer in Women’s Rights,” available online at <http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/whm2003/finland.html> (accessed December 5, 2009).

58. Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom,” 187–188.

59. Offen, *European Feminisms*, 279. Sweden was the last of the Scandinavian countries to grant women the vote. By the time the Swedish government approved full women’s suffrage in 1921, most women in the heart of Europe had already won suffrage, and even the Vatican in 1919 had ended its opposition to the female vote and women’s political participation.

60. Risto Alapuro, *State and Revolution in Finland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 265.

61. Mirovich, *Pobeda zhenskago dvizheniia v Finliandii*; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 118–121; Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 198–199; and Goldberg (Ruthchild), “Russian Women’s Movement,” 90–91. Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom,” 186–187; “Woman Suffrage in Finland, 1906,” 2, available online at <http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/whm2003/finland.html> (accessed on May 20, 2008). This source was e-mailed to me by Jason E. Lavery, December 3, 2003.

62. Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom,” 186–187; “Woman Suffrage in Finland,” 2–3. On Hultin, see Jallinoja, “Women’s Liberation Movement in Finland,” 46. On temperance movements in the Russian Empire, see Herlihy, *Alcoholic Empire*.

63. Manninen and Setälä, *Lady with the Bow*, 52–53.

64. I. I. Tolstoi, ed. *Vospominaniia ministra narodnogo prosveshcheniia grafa I. I. Tolstogo 31 oktiabria 1905 g.–24 apreliia 1906 g.* (Moscow: Greko-Latinskii kabinet Io. A. Shichalina, 1997), 287–288; “Finland,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, thirteenth edition, vol. 10 (New York: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1926), 383–387, 386; and Sulkunen, “Finland—A Pioneer in Women’s Rights,” 2.

65. Goldberg (Ruthchild), “Russian Women’s Movement,” 91; Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom,” 188; Lähtenmäki, “Foreign Contacts of the Finnish Working Women’s Movement,” 34; and Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 198.

66. Furuhielm, “Report for the Finnish Women’s Alliance,” 75–79; Goldberg (Ruthchild), “Russian Women’s Movement,” 91; Jallinoja, “Women’s Liberation Movement in Finland,” 47; Korppi-Tommola, “Fighting Together for Freedom,” 188; and Manninen and Setälä, *Lady with the Bow*, 46, 50–53. Nicholas’s views on women’s suffrage can be inferred from his general opinion of democratic institutions. A 1911 unsigned article in the *New York Times* referred to Grand Duchess Elizaveta Fedorovna—the older sister of the Empress Alexandra, the widow of Nicholas’s uncle Sergei, and the granddaughter of Queen Victoria—as a suffragist with connections to English feminists. The article’s author claimed that Nicholas, shocked that someone in his family would support women’s suffrage, banished her to a nunnery, where she spread her feminist views and influenced nuns at other convents, including a Sister Veronica, Abbess of

Ekaterinburg. I have not been able to find independent confirmation of the information in this article (“The Czar’s Sister-in-Law a Woman Suffrage Leader: She’s the Widow of Grand Duke Sergius—Nicholas Sent Her to a Nunnery, but She Turned the Nuns into Suffragists and He Had to Surrender,” *New York Times*, September 17, 1911, *Sunday Magazine*, SM 9.

67. Daley and Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond*, 4–5, 349–352; Jallinoja, “Women’s Liberation Movement in Finland,” 47–48; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 118–121. The quotation is from “Finland,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 384.

68. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 119.

69. Alexandra Gripenberg, cited in Ramirez, Shanahan, and Soysal, “Changing Logic of Political Citizenship,” 735.

70. Furuhielm, “Report for the Finnish Women’s Alliance,” 75–79; Goldberg (Ruthchild), “Russian Women’s Movement,” 91; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 119; and Lähtenmäki, “Foreign Contacts of the Finnish Working Women’s Movement,” 35, on the Russian women at the Finnish conference and Kollontai. For the articles and pamphlets, see Mirovich, “Pobeda zhenskago dvizheniia v Finliandii,” and Figner, “Zhenskoe dvizhenie v Finliandii.” For the Finnish-Russian feminists’ letters of support, see Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii (GARF, State Archive of the Russian Federation), Fond 516, Soiuz ravnopraviiia zhenshchin, opis 1, delo 11, s. 5.

71. See, for example, the excellent survey about Ukrainian women activists by Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves*; and Kichorowska Kebalo, “Exploring Continuities and Reconciling Ruptures.”

72. Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 168, 337nn166–167 for the quotations. In general, on this affair and Miliukova’s reaction to it, see *ibid.*, 127, 167–169 and 336–337nn165–168. Miliukova carried on a long correspondence with her friend Natalia Vernadskaiia, especially during the time of her most intense struggles with Miliukov. The Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences has Miliukova’s letters to Vernadskaiia (ARAN, Fond 518, Vladimir I. Vernadskii, opis 7, Materialy Natalii Egorovny Vernadskoi, delo 332, ss. 81–89 for a sample). For Miliukov’s discussion of this particular affair, see his *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, 251–252.

73. Tsentral’nyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskvyy (TsIAM, State Historical Archive of the city of Moscow), Fond 2251, Maria Aleksandrovna Chekhova, E. N. Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego,” 35.

74. “Zhenskie delegatsii v parlamentskikh fraktsiakh,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (June–July 1907): 8–9, 8.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ravnopraviiia zhenshchin*, 32.

77. Gurevich as quoted in “Zhenskie delegatsii,” 8.

78. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety. Pervyi sozyv*, 1058; Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 16–17; and Chekhov, “Petitsiia,” 5–7.

79. Chekhov, “Petitsiia,” 5.

80. TsIAM, Fond 2251, E. N. Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego,” 34.

81. Chekhov, “Petitsiia,” 6.

82. TsIAM, Fond 2251, E. N. Chekhova, “Semena griadushchego,” 34.

83. Kollontai, *Sotsial’nye osnovy*, 418–419.

84. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 27.

85. Chekhov, “Petitsiia,” 6.

86. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Petitsiia v gosudarstvennuiu dumu,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (May–June 1907): 157.

87. "Lektsii i doklady," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (June–July 1907): 21.
88. Ibid., 22, on Mirovich and Vol'kenshtein's lectures. On the IWSA Congress, see IWSA, *Report of Third Conference*, 97–103; and N. Mirovich, "Tret'ii congress 'Mezhdunarodnago soiuzu izbiratel'nykh prav zhenshchin v Kopengagene (7–12 avgusta 1906g.)," *Russkaia mysl'*, no. 11 (1906): 125–149, 142–146.
89. "Lektsii i doklady," 22; and *Ravnopravie zhenshchin*, 6.
90. "Zhenskaia progressivnaia partiia," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1907): 88–89.
91. Lähteenmäki, "Foreign Contacts of the Finnish Working Women's Movement," 34.
92. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, vtoroi sozyv*, May 1, 1907, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Gos. tipografia, 1907), 10.
93. Ibid., 11.
94. Vol'kenshtein, "Zhenskii vopros," 902. The Arian quotation is in Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 214.
95. For the effects of Stolypin's policies on the Socialist Revolutionaries, see Melançon, *Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement*, 9–10.
96. *Soiuz zhenshchin* 1 (June–July 1907).
97. The list of contributors is in *Soiuz zhenshchin* 1 (June–July 1907): 24.
98. The first ads ran in the fourth issue of *Soiuz zhenshchin* and then sporadically after that. See *Soiuz zhenshchin* 4 (November 1907): 22–23. For press run figures, see Barashenkov, Golubeva, and Morachevskii, *Bibliografiia periodicheskikh izdanii Rossii, 1901–1916*, vol. 3, 270. For information about the average wages of women workers, see Frosina, "Biudzhety semei rabotnits," *Trudy 1908 s'ezda*, 318–340; and Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, 115.
99. TsIAM, Fond 2251, E. N. Chekhova, "Semena griadushchego," 35.
100. Ibid., 36, 40. General information about Chekhova and the address of her apartment can be found in Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 210–212.
101. TsIAM, Fond 2251, E. N. Chekhova, "Semena griadushchego," 36.
102. Ibid., 37–40; Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 211–212.
103. *Soiuz zhenshchin* 1 (June–July 1907): 1.
104. M. A. Chekhova, "Bor'ba za pravo, kak npravstvennaia obiazannost' zhenshchiny," *Soiuz zhenshchin* 3 (October 1907): 4–5, 4.
105. Ibid., 5.
106. *Soiuz zhenshchin* 2 (August–September 1907): 1.
107. Chekhova, "Bor'ba za pravo, kak npravstvennaia obiazannost' zhenshchiny," 4–5, 5.
108. Ibid., 4–5, 5.
109. *Soiuz zhenshchin* 1 (June–July 1907): 24.
110. Ibid.
111. Gurevich's *Soiuz zhenshchin* articles appeared in the journal's first two issues. They are "Vopros o ravnopravii zhenshchiny v krest'ianskoi srede," *Soiuz zhenshchin* 1 (June–July 1907): 9–11; and "Otnoshenie k voprosu o zhenskom izbiratel'nykh prave russkogo obshchestve zemstv i gorodov," *Soiuz zhenshchin* 2 (August–September 1907): 3–5.
112. TsIAM, Fond 2251, Maria Alexandrovna Chekhova, opis 1, delo 163, ss. 19–20.
113. Ibid., s. 34.
114. A collection of Gurevich's critical essays may be found in Liubov Gurevich, *Literatura i estetika: Kriticheskie opyty i etiudy* (Moscow: Russkaia mysl', 1912). After the October Revolution, Gurevich became known primarily for her work with Stanislavskii. See Gurevich, *O Stanislavskom; Sbornik Vospominanii, 1863–1938, Sostavlen i otrektirovan L.Ia. Gurevich, Peres-*



*motren i dopolnen N. D. Volkovym, Kommentarii E. N. Semianovskoi* (Moscow, 1948), which also contains an autobiographical essay (“Vospominaniia L. Ia. Gurevich,” 117–176).

115. The main aim of the very complicated June 3 electoral law was to ensure the hegemony of the Russian male rural propertied class in the country’s only legislative body. To preserve the “Russian character” of the Duma, central Asians were completely disfranchised, and the number of Duma deputies allotted to other provinces was fixed by law in favor of the Russian population. The system of indirect voting through electoral colleges in each province, divided into four categories or *curiae* (landowners, city dwellers, peasants, and workers) was maintained and weighted more heavily by class. The other chief provisions were the following: (1) The number of cities allowed direct election of deputies was cut from twenty-six to seven (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Riga, Lodz, and Warsaw), and the representation weighted much more in favor of the wealthy urban bourgeoisie. (2) In the provincial electoral colleges, election of deputies was now done by all four *curiae* together. Though provision was made for minimal representation from all four groups, in fact, the majority of electors (landowners and wealthy urban bourgeoisie in all provinces) could pick the Duma deputies for all classes in their province. Duma deputies were selected only from those sitting in the *curiae*, with the exception of the five cities with direct elections. See Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 372–373; *Entsklopedicheskii slovar’ Russkogo bibliograficheskii instituta Granat*, seventh edition (Moscow: S. Gamparova, 1910–1948), vol. 16, 172–210, 204–208; “Russia, Government and Administration,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), vol. 23, 873–875. Samuel Harper, *The New Electoral Law for the Russian Duma* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), 2.

116. Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia*, 175.

117. For the Octobrist program, see Astrov et al., *Konstitutionno-demokraticeskaiia partiia*, 46–53; *Programma politicheskikh partii Rossii. Konets XIX–nachalo XX vv* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1995), 341–349.

118. “Sankt-Peterburg Oktiabr,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (October 1907): 1.

119. S. G. Berednikov, “Ob uchastie zhenshchin v zemskom samoupravlenii v Rossii,” *Trudy pervogo vserossiiskogo zhenskogo s’ezda pri Russkom zhenskom obshchestve v Sankt-Peterburge 10–16 Dekabriia 1908*, 413–421, 413–414.

120. “Sankt-Peterburg Oktiabr,” 1.

121. “Otvét Moskvichki soiuzu 17 Oktiabr,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (October 1907): 2–3.

122. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Oktiabristy na tsepochke,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1907): 257–260.

123. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyv*, January 25, 1908, 1423. The full text of the proposal is in *Prilozheniia k stenograficheskim otchetam gosudarstvennoi dumy tretii sozyv, Sessii I, 1907–1908*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Gos. Tip, 1908), 438–451. The terms “active suffrage” and “passive suffrage” can be confusing. Under the provisions of the June 3 electoral law, a person with active suffrage would have the right to vote for electors but could not be an elector and therefore a Duma deputy. Those with passive suffrage had the right to be electors and deputies.

124. “Khronika zhenskogo voprosa v Rossii,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (January 1908): 16.

125. E. V. Avilova, “Ob uchastii zhenshchin v zemskom samoupravlenii,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (April 1908): 1–6.

126. “Khronika zhenskogo voprosa v Rossii,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (April 1908): 13.

127. Maria Bezobrazova, “Novye prava,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (October 1907): 11. Kollontai, using this article as evidence of feminist support for the Octobrist proposal, erred in dating it

in the March 1908 issue of *Soiuz zhenshchin*. The Bezobrazova article was published before the Octobrists submitted their proposal to the Duma, although it was discussed in zemstvo circles for some time before. The timing of the article and the proposal do suggest connections between Bezobrazova and the Octobrists.

128. Ibid., 11.

129. Alexander von Ruttsen, “Izbiratel’nye prava zhenshchin v gosudarstvennoi dume,” *Soiuz zhenshchin* (March 1908): 11–12.

130. “Ob izmenenii gorodskogo izbiratel’nogo zakona,” *Prilozheniia*, vol. 2, 2434–2448, 2436.

131. Pokrovskaiia as quoted in “S novym godom,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1908): 1.

132. *Soiuz zhenshchin* (December 1907): 2.

133. Pokrovskaiia as quoted in “S novym godom,” 1.

## Chapter 5. *The First All-Russian Women’s Congress*

*Epigraph: Trudy 1908*, 530.

1. Zoia V. Grishina broke from Soviet orthodoxy about the Congress in her “Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s”ezd.” In addition to her 1984 book, *Feminism in Russia*, see Linda Edmondson, “Russian Feminists and the First All-Russian Congress of Women,” *Russian History*, no. 2 (1976): 123–149. For the post-Soviet Russian historians, see Aivazova, *Russkie zhenshchiny*; Khasbulatova and Gafisova, *Zhenskoe dvizhenie*; and for an excellent recent discussion of the 1908 Women’s Congress, see Yukina, *Russkii feminism kak vyzov*, 382–397. Yukina views the Women’s Congress favorably, noting its significance in increasing the visibility of the feminist movement and demonstrating the growing consensus in favor of women’s rights in society. Besides Edmondson, see also Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, and Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*. For a discussion of the significance of the 1908 Women’s Congress, which unfortunately does not include important contemporary English or Russian sources, see Enderlein, “Hier était demain.”

2. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 416.

3. For a description of the crowd, see “Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s”ezd,” *Niva* (January 3, 1909), 17; A. (Osip) Ermanskii, “Vserossiiskii zhenskii s”ezd,” *Sovremennye mir* (January 1909): 103–112, 103; and Boris Glinskii, “Pervyi zhenskii vserossiiskii s”ezd,” *Istoricheskii vestnik* (January 1909): 384–407, 386. The full name and cite for Grigor’ev is Grigorii Grigor’ev, “Skvoz’ gody,” in *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii*, edited by Liubov Zhak and Anna Itkina, 290–303, 295–296, as cited in Farnsworth, *Aleksandra Kollontai*, 31.

4. A. M. Kollontai, “Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa v sovremennom obshchestve,” *Trudy 1908*, 792–801, 792. Kollontai’s talk was read by Varvara Ivanovna Volkova, a member of the workers’ group.

5. On Kollontai and the 1908 Women’s Congress, see Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 61–63; and Farnsworth, *Aleksandra Kollontai*, 29–39. See also Porter, *Alexandra Kollontai*.

6. See, for example, Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*; and Hillyar and McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia*. Russian women’s historians have been more critical of Kollontai’s formulation of bourgeois feminism. Russian popular views of feminism today are generally very negative, identifying the movement with Soviet policies and pronouncements supporting women’s liberation.

7. Alexandra Kollontai, *Sotsial’nye osnovy zhenskogo voprosa* (St. Petersburg: Znanie, 1909), 34.

8. Bradley, "Subjects into Citizens," III9.
9. Dudgeon, "Forgotten Minority," 2.
10. *Trudy* 1908, 5–6.
11. *Trudy* 1908, V (for Chekhov's role), 22 (for Miliukov's telegram); and Yukina, "First Russian National Women's Congress," 3–4. See "Spisok dokladchikov," *Trudy* 1908, 921–927, for the list of speakers.
12. Ariadna Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 429–430; the Filosofova quotation is from *Trudy* 1908, 836.
13. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 3.
14. For the list of attendees, see "Spisok chlenov Pervago Zhenskago S"ezda," *Trudy* 1908, 907–920.
15. The "rippling sea" quotation is from Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 103. The Ivanova quotation is from A. Ivanova, "Dve tochki zreniia," in A. V. Artiukhina, ed., *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii* (Moscow: Gos. izdatel'stvo pol. Literatury, 1959), 88–92, 88–89. Before the October Revolution, Anna Ivanovna Ivanova (1889–?) did organizing work in St. Petersburg factories, and at the Treugol'nik textile factory, the scene of a number of strikes. She was arrested and exiled more than once. After the revolution she worked on *Rabotnitsa*, did "economic work," and joined the Communist Party comparatively late, in 1927. Ivanova, "Dve tochki zreniia," 88–92, and 94. The "completely disappeared" quotation is from Boris B. Glinskii, "Pervyi zhenskii vsereiiskii s"ezd," *Istoricheskii vestnik* (1909): 384–407, 389. The three groups' observation is from Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 103. Later Soviet accounts rely heavily on Ivanova and describe the scene as one in which "well-dressed ladies in expensive furs, jewels and gold filled the hall." See Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 29; Vavilina and Artiukhina, *Vsegda s vami*, 16; and Itkina, *Revoliutsionner, tribun, diplomat*, 52. One of the few photographs of the congress participants shows the majority dressed simply, with few furs in evidence. Filosofova is wearing the most noticeable fur piece. See *Sbornik pamiati Filosofovoi*, vol. 2, photo opposite 64. See photos of 1908 Congress in this book.
16. Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 104; and Grishina, "Pervyi vsereiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 57.
17. Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 104–105; and Grishina, "Pervyi vsereiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 57.
18. "Spisok chlenov pervago zhenskago s"ezda," *Trudy* 1908, vol. 8, 907–920. Ekaterina Arbore-Ralli/Ralli-Arbore (1875–1937), a doctor, was probably serving on the Executive Committee of the Romanian Socialist Party in 1908. A Bolshevik sympathizer, she relocated to the Soviet Union in 1918, eventually serving as health commissioner of the Moldavian Soviet Republic. As with many other purge victims, she was rehabilitated by Soviet authorities several years after Stalin's death in 1953, and by Romanian authorities in 1968 after the rise of Ceaușescu.
19. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 437.
20. Ibid.
21. *Trudy* 1908, 530.
22. Olga A. Vol'kenshtein, "Itogi pervago vsereiiskago zhenskii s"ezda," *Russkaia mysl'* (February 1909): 146–163, 147.
23. Alexandra Kollontai, "Dva techeniia po povodu pervoi mezhdunarodnoi zhenskoi sotsialisticheskoi konferentsii v Shtutgarte," *Obrazovanie* 16 (October 1907): 46–62, 54; Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 18–19; Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 47–48; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 98; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 237–238.
24. "Khronika," *Golos sotsial-demokrata* (November–December 1908): 25–26, 25; M. B., "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd i rabochaia gruppa," *Professional'nyi vestnik* (January 24, 1909):

16–19, 16–17; A. Mikhailova (Kollontai), “Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa na pervom feministkom kongresse v Rossii,” *Golos sotsial-demokrata* (March 1909): 6–7, 6. I am indebted to the late Anna Bourgina of the Hoover Institution for helping me find the Mikhailova sources.

25. Alexandra Kollontai, *Iz moei zhizni i raboty: Vospominaniia i dnevniki* (Moscow: Sovetskaiia Rossiia, 1974), 111; Alexandra Kollontai, *Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman*, edited and with an afterword by Iring Fetscher (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 15. Kollontai had joined the Mensheviks because they favored greater agitation in the Duma. She did not agree with the Menshevik willingness to form liberal-left coalitions and for that reason, as she wrote in her autobiography, she was “even branded as a ‘syndicalist’ by my Party comrades” (Kollontai, *Autobiography*). Kollontai did not formally become a Bolshevik until 1915.

26. “Khronika,” 25; M. B., “Vserossiiskii zhenskii s’ezd i rabochaia gruppa,” 17; and Mikhailova (Kollontai), “Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa na pervom feministkom kongresse v Rossii,” 6.

27. Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 111–112.

28. Ibid., 26. These were typical demands; they had been made in 1905 (see “Petitsiia Moskovskogo obshchestva vzaimopomoshchi rabochikh tip-litografov,” in Abram Kats and Iurii Milonov, eds., 1905: *Materialy i dokumenty: Professional’noe dvizhenie* [Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo, 1926], 166), and were repeated often as strikes by women workers became more numerous. See Bobroff, “Bolsheviks and Working Women,” especially 555. Domestic servants also attended these meetings (see M. B., “Vserossiiskii zhenskii s’ezd i rabochaia gruppa,” 17). The “separate passport” quotation is from “Khronika,” 26.

29. “Khronika.” Machaevtsy were followers of Jan Wacław Machajski (1866–1926), a Pole using the pseudonym A. Vol’skii who criticized Marxist socialism because, he argued, the Marxists did not really champion the cause of manual workers but of a new class of “mental workers” who would just enslave the manual workers anew when they came to power. (See Avrich, *Russian Anarchists*, 102–106).

30. Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 112, for the encounter with the Kadet woman; see *ibid.*, 111–113, for her other activities.

31. Ibid., 110, 113. All Russians carried internal passports; see *ibid.* Itkina, *Revoliutsionner, tribun, diplomat*, 51. Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 114.

32. Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 114. Roman Malinovskii (1876–1918) was a police agent who penetrated into the top ranks of the Bolsheviks. He became leader of the Bolshevik faction in the Duma. He resigned from the Duma in 1914, left the country, suddenly reappeared in 1918, and was tried and shot.

33. M. B., “Vserossiiskii zhenskii s’ezd i rabochaia gruppa,” 17; and “Khronika,” 26.

34. M. B., “Vserossiiskii zhenskii s’ezd i rabochaia gruppa,” 17; and “Khronika,” 26.

35. Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 114, 379–380n44. Although Comrade Sergei’s last name is not in the Bolshevik accounts, on the list of the 1908 credentials committee one “Sergei Grigor’evich Berednikov” appears. Berednikov gave a talk on women’s voting rights in the zemstvos and was criticized by some members of the workers’ group. See Berednikov, “Ob uchastii,” *Trudy 1908*, 413–421, 411 for criticism. Praskov’ia Frantsevna Kudelli (1859–1944) was strongly influenced by the populist movement in her youth. She graduated from the Bestuzhev women’s courses in 1882 and was already past thirty when she encountered Marxist ideas in the early 1890s. She met Krupskaiia and Lenin while teaching at an evening school for workers. She wrote for *Iskra*, joined the Bolsheviks in 1903, participated in 1913 in the first Russian socialist celebration of International Women’s Day, was on the first editorial collective of *Rabotnitsa* in 1914 and among those arrested in that year. From 1917 through 1922, Kudelli worked for *Pravda*, then edited the journal *Krasnaia letopis’* (Red chronicle), and headed the Leningrad section of the history of the party (Istpartkom). Despite her advanced age, she stayed in Leningrad during

the siege, and died in the spring of 1944. See Evteeva, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 153; and Vavilina and Artiukhina, *Vsegda s vami*, 61–62. Vera (Berta Klement'evna) Slutskaiia (1880–1917) was a member of the RSDLP from 1902. She took part in the 1905 revolution in Minsk, was a delegate to the London Congress of the RSDLP, in emigration from 1909 to 1912, returned to St. Petersburg in 1913, and was then arrested and exiled. After the February Revolution, Slutskaiia worked as a member of the Petrograd and Vasiliostrov party committees. She was killed during the October Revolution in a battle near Tsarskoe selo. See *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1945), vol. 51, 438. The quotation is from "Khronika," 25.

36. Chlen P. K., "Rabochaia gruppa na zhenskom s"ezde (Pis'mo iz Peterburga)," *Sotsial'demokrat* (April 1909): 2–5, 2.

37. The two quotations are from "Khronika," 26. There are similarities between the Bolshevik position on the woman question and their position on the Jewish question. On the Jews the Bolsheviks also viewed Jewish nationalism as splitting the proletariat. Lenin wrote in 1903: "The idea of a Jewish nationality runs counter to the interests of the Jewish proletariat, for it fosters among them, directly or indirectly, a spirit hostile to assimilation, the spirit of the 'ghetto'" (Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics*, 44). After the revolution Soviet attitudes toward the Woman's Section (Zhenotdel) and the Jewish Section (Evseksiia) showed similar ambivalence. The Zhenotdel was abolished in 1929, and the Evseksiia in January 1930. On early Soviet policies toward women, see especially Wood, *Baba and Comrade*. On the Evseksiia, see Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics*. On the Bolshevik-Menshevik conflict, see *Sotsial'demokrat* (February 1909): 7. Soviet historians who mention this resolution omit the fact that it did not pass. See Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 29; and Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskii proletarskie massy*, 66–67.

38. "Khronika," 26.

39. Mikhailova (Kollontai), "Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa na pervom feministkom kongresse v Rossii," 7. For Kollontai on joining the proletariat, see "Ot redaksii," *Golos sotsial'demokrata* (March 1909): 8.

40. Chlen P. K., "Rabochaia gruppa na zhenskom s"ezde," 5.

41. For the best account of women workers and the 1908 Women's Congress, see Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, 252–264.

42. Lir', "Deiatel'nitsy zhenskago dvizheniia: Dr. A. N. Shabanova," *Rech'* (December 11, 1908): 6.

43. The quotation is from "O pervom s"ezde Russkikh deiatel'nits po blagotvoreniiu i prosveshcheniiu," *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1904): 85.

44. A. N. Shabanova, "K pervomu vserossiiskomu zhenskomu s"ezdu," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (October 1908): 1–2, 1; *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1905): 18–20; and *Trudy 1908*, 1.

45. Shabanova, "K pervomu vserossiiskomu zhenskomu s"ezdu"; and *Trudy 1908*, 1.

46. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 431; Shabanova, "K pervomu vserossiiskomu zhenskemu s"ezdu," 1; *Trudy 1908*, 1; Glinskii, "Pervyi zhenskii vserossiiskii s"ezd," 384; and *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1905): 18.

47. "Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1908): 89–90, 89.

48. "Konferentsiia vserossiiskago soiuza ravnopravnosti zhenshchin v Moskve, 13–14 Okt., 1907," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (October 1907): 12–13, 12.

49. Ibid.

50. *Soiuz zhenshchin* (November 1907): 21. The official history of the Women's Congress, in the *Trudy 1908*, does not mention the role of the Women's Union at all, thus giving the impression that only the Russian Women's Society kept the idea alive. See the *Trudy 1908*, vols. 1

and 2. See also Shabanova's two accounts in *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 19; and "K pervomu vserossiiskomu zhenskemu s"ezdu," 1–2; and, in addition, Tyrkova, "Pervyi zhenskii s"ezd," 191–192.

51. *Trudy 1908*, vol. 2, and Goldberg, "Russian Women's Movement," 178. For information on Filosofova's petition for reinstatement of the council and for the section on the struggle for political rights to be changed to the political and civil situation of women, see *Trudy 1908*, vol. 13.

52. *Trudy 1908*, vol. 2.

53. The official permission granted in January 1908, like the one in 1905, stipulated that the Women's Congress would be open only to women. See *Trudy 1908*, vol. 4; on the November 1907 planning meeting, see *Soiuz zhenshchin* (November 1907): 21.

54. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 2–3.

55. Pokrovskaia, as quoted in "Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," *Zhenskii vestnik* (May 1908): 121–123, 121. The official history just says the time was "inconvenient," as does Shabanova in her *Soiuz zhenshchin* article. See *Trudy 1908*, vol. 2; and Shabanova, "K pervomu vserossiiskomu zhenskemu s"ezdu," 2. The Amsterdam IWSA congress was held from June 15 through June 20, 1908. On the *Zhenskii vestnik* reaction, see "Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," *Zhenskii vestnik*, 12.

56. The Shabanova quotation is from Lir', "Deiatel'nitsy zhenskago dvizheniia," 6. The logistical information is *Trudy 1908*, vols. 5–6.

57. Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 106.

58. The description of Filosofova's speech and its reception is in *Trudy 1908*, 1–2; and Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 432–433. Ol'ga Konstantinovna Bulanova-Trubnikova, one of Maria Trubnikova's daughters, attended the 1908 congress. The granddaughter of a Decembrist, the daughter of a feminist pioneer, Bulanova wrote of the links between generations in her *Tri pokoleniia* (Three generations). An auditor at the Bestuzhev women's courses, Bulanova-Trubnikova joined the antiterrorist group Black Partition (Chernyi peredel) in 1879 but soon moved to the People's Will (Narodnaia vol'ia), the group responsible for the assassination of Alexander II, in 1881. Arrested as a result of her revolutionary activity, she, like her grandfather, lived in Siberian exile, in her case from 1883. After the October Revolution, she wrote *Tri pokoleniia; Roman dekabrista: Dekabrist V. P. Ivashev i ego sem'ia: Iz semeinogo arkhiva* and several articles on the history of the revolutionary movement.

59. *Trudy 1908*, vols. 10–18.

60. N. Mirovich, "Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," *Vestnik evropy* (1909): 411–415, 412–413.

61. On behaving modestly, see Ekaterina Kuskova, "Zhenskii vopros i zhenskii s"ezd," *Obrazovanie* (January–February, 1909): 33–43, 74–99, 97. On criticizing the Octobrists, see Mirovich, "Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 413n1. On the country priest, see *ibid.*, 413; on Bakunina's statement and the police officer's response, see *Trudy 1908*, 346.

62. For a report on the session and its interruption, see *Trudy 1908*, 390. Ekaterina Dmitrievna Kuskova (1869–1958) graduated from the women's higher courses in Moscow. An early Marxist, she authored the *Credo* in 1899, in which she argued that, given Russian political reality, it was futile to encourage the building of a proletarian political movement. "For the Russian Marxist," wrote Kuskova, "there is only one way out: participation, that is, assistance in the economic struggle of the proletariat, and participation in the activity of the liberal opposition" (Kuskova as quoted in Vladimir I. Lenin, *Sochineniia* [Moscow: Gos. Izd. pol. literatury, 1946], vol. 4, 153–156). The *Credo* aroused a storm of opposition in social-democratic circles, and later Kuskova tried to minimize her role in writing it (Schwarz, *Russian Revolution*

of 1905, 148). All the same, this remained Kuskova's political position, and she sought whenever possible to encourage the liberal-left coalitions she viewed as the only way to build an opposition movement strong enough to topple the tsarist regime. She played an active role in the Union of Liberation and in October 1905 became the first woman elected to the Kadet Central Committee, a position she held briefly before political differences prompted her resignation. She may also have been a Freemason from 1906 to 1917. Kuskova wrote for many left-liberal journals, and in 1906 with her husband S. N. Prokopovich, published *Bez zaglaviia* (Without a title), an infelicitous name aimed at demonstrating a nonaligned political stance. The journal lasted four-and-a-half months, but Kuskova continued to write for many left publications. Kuskova and Prokopovich remained in Russia after the October Revolution and in 1921 were members of the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee. They were arrested and expelled from the Soviet Union in 1922, for trying "to use it [the famine] against the Soviet Government" (see Vladimir I. Lenin, *Collected Works* [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970], vol. 45, 778). Living in Berlin, Prague, and Geneva, she continued to promote her ideas about Russian democracy in the émigré press. See "Kuskova, Ekaterina" in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauz-Efron*, 85 vols. (St. Petersburg: Brokgauz-Efron, 1890–1914), vol. 23, 750; Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 157, 235–236; Ekaterina Kuskova, "Otkrytki," *Sovremennye zapiski* 25 (1925): 416–440; Ekaterina Kuskova, "Kren nalevo (iz proshlogo)," *Sovremennye zapiski* 44 (1930): 366–395; Ekaterina Kuskova, "Pis'ma E. D. Kuskovoi Timofeiu," *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* (March 1928): 158–163; Smith, "Role of Russian Freemasonry"; P. A. Nikolaev, ed., *Russkie pisateli: 1800–1917 gg. Biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1994); "Kuskova, Ekaterina Dmitrievna"; Aronson, "E. D. Kuskova"; Norton, "E. D. Kuskova"; Norton, "Russian Political Masonry and the February Revolution of 1917"; Norton, "Making of a Female Marxist"; and Norton, "Laying the Foundation of Democracy in Russia" and "Journalism as a Means of Empowerment," in Gheith and Norton, *Improper Profession*, 222–248.

63. Kuskova, "Zhenskii vopros i zhenskii s"ezd," 97.

64. *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1905 god*, 374–375, 375. Besides Shapir's work at the 1908 congress, she also was instrumental in founding the short-lived Kiev women's journal, *Zhenskaia mysl'*. Shapir died in 1916 in a hospital sanitarium, probably after a nervous breakdown occasioned by her only son's going away to war. *Zhenskoe delo*, July 1, 1916, 46–55, has more details about Shapir's life, especially this later period.

65. Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 107.

66. Anastasia Chebotarevskaiia (1876–1921) was the wife of the writer Fedor Sologub.

67. "Spisok докладчиков," *Trudy* 1908, 921–927.

68. P. E. Vasil'kovskii, "Mezhdunarodnyi vspomogatel'nyi iazyk Esperanto," *Trudy* 1908, 634–637, 637.

69. Z. N. Bumakova, "O zhenskoi vospitatel'no-blagotvoritel'noi deiatel'nosti v zhenskikh tiurmakh," *Trudy* 1908, 163–168, 163–164, 167, and 163.

70. For a fuller discussion of Russian female socialization and female radicalism, see Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*, passim.

71. E. N. Shchepkina, "Trud i zdorov'e krest'ianki," *Trudy* 1908, 211–215; and E. I. Shevyreva, "Bytovoe i pravovoe polozhenie krest'ianki v Malorossii," *Trudy* 1908, 215–222.

72. E. N. Polovtseva, "Russkaia zhenshchina v kustarnoi promyshlennosti," *Trudy* 1908, 222–230, 229.

73. *Ibid.*, 230.

74. Shadurskaia is mentioned in *Trudy* 1908, 200.

75. M. M. Volkova, "Instinkt materinstva i polovoe vozderzhanie," *Trudy 1908*, 367–374.
76. M. L. Vakhtina, "Brachnyi vopros v nastoiashchem i budushchem," *Trudy 1908*, 374–378, 376, and 378.
77. M. E. Blandova, "O sovremennom polozhenii russkoi zhenshchiny," *Trudy 1908*, 359–367, 364, 366.
78. Kal'manovich, Kliachkina, Miliukova, and Tyrkova, as mentioned in *Trudy 1908*, 345, 346, and 348.
79. Z. Mirovich, "Zhenskii vopros na mezhdunarodnom kongresse v Amsterdame," *Trudy 1908*, 457–467, 466–467.
80. L. N. Ruttsen, "Iz oblasti zhenskago dvizheniia v Anglii," *Trudy 1908*, 467–474, 471–472.
81. On Russian women and revolutionary activism, see Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*; Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*; Margaret Maxwell, *Narodniki Women: Russian Women Who Sacrificed Themselves for the Dream of Freedom* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1990); Jay Bergman, *Vera Zasulich: A Biography* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1983); McNeal, "Women in the Russian Radical Movement"; Pavliuchenko, *Zhenshchiny v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii*; and Bulanova-Trubnikova, *Tri pokoleniia*.
82. A. A. Kal'manovich, "Zhenskoe dvizhenie i otnoshenie partii k nemu," *Trudy 1908*, 779–791, 779, 786.
83. Tyrkova as quoted in *ibid.*, 767.
84. *Ibid.*
85. Kuskova as quoted in *ibid.*, 767–768.
86. Kal'manovich in *ibid.*, 769.
87. Kuskova as quoted in *ibid.*, 496.
88. Kollontai, "Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa," 792.
89. See Fieseler, *Frauen auf dem Weg*, *passim*.
90. Gurevich's talk, at the second joint session on December 15, was not given to the compilers of the *Trudy 1908*. A summary of the talk's theses, however, can be found on pages 791–792 of the *Trudy 1908*. Anna Iakovlevna Gurevich (1878–?), sister of Liubov Gurevich, studied in the history-philology section of the Bestuzhev women's courses from 1896–1899 and 1900–1903. She taught in a workers' school in the capital and joined the RSDLP before the Menshevik-Bolshevik split, in 1902. After 1917 she taught and did "cultural-enlightenment" work. Evteeva, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 147. *Trudy 1908*, 770.
91. *Trudy 1908*, 821–823, 310.
92. *Ibid.*, 817. Kollontai attended the first four days of the congress. She had intended merely to come to the sessions but not speak at them, but she could not stay silent. Her comments aroused controversy and brought her to the attention of the police, who surrounded the congress meeting hall the next day. Forewarned, Kollontai successfully escaped. She did not return to Russia until 1917. While underground and before fleeing the country, Kollontai daily had to arrange a place to sleep at night. As a woman out alone at night, she could have been harassed or picked up as a prostitute. Forced to rely often on the daring of others, she was disappointed more than once. Old friends, even her sister Adele, who feared the repercussions on her husband's military career, refused her shelter. Others, some who barely knew her, were more willing to take risks. Among the latter group was the writer, poet, and translator Tatiana Shchepkina-Kupernik. Shchepkina-Kupernik had first glimpsed Kollontai at the sessions of the First Duma and had been impressed by her immediately. As Shchepkina-Kupernik recalled later, "there radiated from her [Kollontai] a kind of luminescence." Shchepkina-Kupernik's



home, to which people came until late at night, was the perfect refuge for Kollontai and she stayed there often, including the night before she fled abroad. Shchepkina-Kupernik even arranged a small farewell party. Itkina, *Revoliutsionner, tribun, diplomat*, 53–56; and Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 114.

93. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Kak zhenshchiny dolzhny borot’sia s prostitutsiei,” *Trudy 1908*, 277–282; and M. E. Blandova, “O nadzore za prostitutsiei,” *Trudy 1908*, 282–286.

94. Dr. Omel’chenko, “Rol’ demokraticeskoi zhenshchiny v bor’be s prostitutsiei,” *Trudy 1908*, 273. The full text of the talk was not submitted for publication. Only the resolution, which summarizes the talk, was printed.

95. Pokrovskaiia, “Kak zhenshchiny dolzhny borot’sia s prostitutsiei,” 277.

96. *Ibid.*, 280.

97. *Ibid.*, 272.

98. Ivanova, as quoted in *ibid.*, 273.

99. Andreeva, as quoted in *ibid.*, 273–274.

100. *Ibid.*, 275.

101. Kuskova, “Zhenskii vopros i zhenskii s’ezd,” 36.

102. Nizhegorodova, as quoted in “W”; and “Zhenskii s’ezd i rabochaia gruppa (Pis’mo iz Peterburga),” *Golos sotsial-demokrata* (March 1909): 7–8, 8.

103. Shapir, as quoted in *Trudy 1908*, 496.

104. Mirovich, as quoted in *ibid.*, 458.

105. Gurevich, as quoted in *ibid.*, 456.

106. Ruttsen, as quoted in *ibid.* Bebel’s study, first published in 1879 (*Die Frau und Der Sozialismus*), remained for some time the most thorough Marxist examination of the woman question. The quotation Ruttsen cited is: “The class antagonism that exists between the capitalist and working class and that is increasing with the growth of industrial problems, also clearly manifests itself within the women’s movement. Still, these sister-women, though antagonistic to each other on class lines, have a great many more points in common than the men engaged in class struggle, and though they march in separate armies, they may strike a united blow” (August Bebel, *Woman and Socialism* [New York: Socialist Literature Co., 1910], 6).

107. Miliukova, as quoted in *Trudy 1908*, 494.

108. Kuvshinskaia, as quoted in *ibid.*, 495. Elena Alexandrovna Kuvshinskaia (Domanovich) (1874–1928) graduated from the Bestuzhev women’s courses with a degree in history and philology in 1900. She probably knew Anna Gurevich there. After graduation, she taught in a workers’ school. Arrested in 1905 and expelled from St. Petersburg, she emigrated and took part in the 1907 Stuttgart Congress, which included a socialist women’s conference. After the October Revolution she taught, eventually becoming dean of the economics department at the University of Perm. Evteeva, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel’*, 153; and Alexandra Kollontai, “Avtobiograficheskii ocherk,” *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 3 (1921): 261–302, 276.

109. Shabad, as quoted in *Trudy 1908*, 494.

110. A. (Kollontai) Mikhailova, “Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa na pervom feministkom kongresse v Rossii,” *Golos sotsial-demokrata*, no. 12 (1909): 6–7, 793–794. Kollontai did not provide statistics about Russian women in this talk, but in *The Social Foundations of the Woman Question* she noted that of the approximately 6 million women workers in Russia, about 126,000 were employed in the professions and civil service. Of the approximately 2 million women employed in agriculture, Kollontai estimated that at least 36 percent were proletarians, and in industry and mining, of the close to 1 million women workers, 39.6 percent were proletarians (52).

111. Kollontai, as quoted in *Trudy 1908*, 796.

112. Ibid., 798.

113. Ibid., 797, 800.

114. Despite the fact that they had a women's suffrage plank in their platform, the Belgian socialists in 1902 agreed not to press this demand, since they feared that women would vote for conservatives and help the Catholic parties. In 1919 women won the vote; two years later they won the right to run for office. See Landauer, *European Socialism*, vol. 1, 472; and Ida Harper, *History of Women's Suffrage*, vol. 6, 787 (edited by Stanton, Anthony, Harper, and Gage). Mirovich referred to the Hungarian socialists' attitudes in her talk (Mirovich, "Zhenskii vopros," *Trudy 1908*, 461). Kal'manovich referred to the German socialists in her talk (Kal'manovich, "Zhenskoe dvizhenie," *Trudy 1908*, 798). In Austria, before 1906, some property-owning women had the right to vote, but in that year, with the introduction of universal manhood suffrage, supported by the Austrian socialists, even those women lost the right to vote. The Austrian leader Victor Adler used the "time is not ripe" argument, convincing even some socialist women to support the struggle for an exclusively male franchise. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought*, vol. 3, part 1, *Second International, 1889–1914*; Mirovich, "Zhenskii vopros," 461; Kal'manovich, "Zhenskoe dvizhenie," 787; Harper, *History of Women's Suffrage*, 792; and Angelica Balabanoff, *My Life as a Rebel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 80.

115. Kal'manovich, "Zhenskoe dvizhenie," 784.

116. *Trudy 1908*, 769.

117. Ibid., 494.

118. Furuhielm, as quoted in *ibid.*, 766.

119. See Harper, *History of Women's Suffrage*, 725–751; and Pankhurst, *My Own Story*. Pankhurst describes one situation in which the complaint that a women's suffrage bill was not democratic enough was used to defeat the bill. To Pankhurst (*My Own Story*, 85), "the contention was but a shallow excuse and we knew it."

120. Kollontai, as quoted in *Trudy 1908*, 456–457.

121. Kuvshinskaia, as quoted in *ibid.*, 411.

122. Ruttsen, as quoted in *ibid.*, 523.

123. Harper, *History of Women's Suffrage*, 730–731.

124. For the proposal introduced by Mirovich, see *Trudy 1908*, 495.

125. See *ibid.* for the resolution of the workers' group.

126. *Soiuz zhenshchin* (January 1909): 24.

127. A. P. Filosofova, "Znachenie Mezhdunarodnogo zhenskago soiuz a i Natsional'nago zhenskago sovieta," *Trudy 1908*, 828–837.

128. Sabinina, Shabanova, and Kuvshinskaia and Drozdova as mentioned in *ibid.*, 816–817.

129. The Tarkhanova incident is in *ibid.*

130. Tyrkova, "Pervyi zhenskii s"ezd," 204–205. For more critical views, see Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 110–111; Chlen P. K., "Rabochaia gruppa na zhenskom s"ezde," 5; and Pokrovskaiia, "Pervyi vsersossiiskii s"ezd," *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1909): 1–4, 2–3.

131. Shapir, as quoted in *Trudy 1908*, 818, 819, emphasis in the original.

132. Miliukova, as mentioned in *ibid.*

133. Sabinina's proposal as such was not presented for a vote. Rather, the meeting was asked to decide whether or not to vote on the Editorial Bureau resolution. At no time did Tyrkova put to a vote the rest of Sabinina's suggestion, that the workers' group resolution simply be accepted. *Ibid.*, 819–820. Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd," 110–111, as cited in Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 218.

134. Chlen P. K., "Rabochaia gruppa na zhenskom s"ezde," 5. The account in the Kadet paper *Rech'* also noted that the workers' group left "slowly" ("Pervyi zhenskii s"ezd," *Rech'* [De-

cember 17, 1908]: 3). And the conservative *Novoe vremia* had a similar description (Glinskii, “Pervyi zhenskii vs Rossiiskii s”ezd,” 102).

135. Chlen P. K., “Raboचाia gruppy na zhenskom s”ezde,” 5. Conservatives minimized the impact of the workers’ group walkout; Soviet accounts glorified it as the most important aspect of the congress. Soviet historians fail to mention the confusion of the walkout and differ on its causes. Itkina (*Revoliutsionner, tribun, diplomat*, 53), Bil’shai (*Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 89), and Bochkareva and Liubimova (*Svetlyi put’*, 31) all have the group leaving in protest against the National Council of Russian Women. Serditova (*Bol’sheviki v bor’be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 69) has them leaving as a result of feminist harassment and after reading a statement at the last joint session. Ivanova, who was there, and the editors of the last Soviet edition of Kollontai’s writings in 1972—Dazhina, Mukhamedzhanov, and Tsivelina—mention the suffrage resolution as the immediate reason for the walkout, although Ivanova indicates that the walkout was preplanned: “the workers’ delegation demonstratively abandoned the congress” (Kollontai, *Izbrannnye stat’i i rechi* [Moscow: Politizdat, 1972], 92). See also Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 379n41, and Kollontai, *Izbrannnye stat’i i rechi*, 397n17; and Vavilina and Artiukhina, *Vsegda s vami*, 16. In general, as might be expected, Soviet accounts of the Women’s Congress highlight the role of the Bolsheviks. In most, none of the socialist infighting before the congress is mentioned, and the Bolsheviks are portrayed as having initiated participation and as the leaders of the workers’ group. Kollontai is presented as a Bolshevik, although at the time she was a Menshevik, and the workers’ group is depicted as united and strong. Three accounts have Kollontai actually delivering her lecture at the Women’s Congress, when in fact she had already fled the country (Serditova, *Bol’sheviki v bor’be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 68–69; Ivanova, “Dve tochki zreniia,” 89–90; and Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put’*, 29–30). The last two works also describe Kollontai as greeted by boos and shouts of “We don’t want to hear it! Down with you! Scram!” for fifteen minutes while she tried to present the workers’ group resolutions (Ivanova, “Dve tochki zreniia,” 90–91; and Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put’*, 30). Bil’shai and Ivanova do not mention the split with the Mensheviks. And only *Iz moei zhizni i raboty* keeps Kollontai’s account of her conflicts with the Bolsheviks, although not all of it. For example, Anne Bobroff cites evidence from the earlier edition of the book (Odessa, 1921) showing that even after the Bolsheviks voted to participate in the congress, some Bolsheviks circulated a plea for a boycott (Bobroff, “Bolsheviks and Working Women,” 544n15). As for the results of the Women’s Congress, Serditova’s comment was typical: “The Bolshevik performance at the All-Russian Women’s Congress evoked response from all over the country, influenced the political enlightenment of women workers, and furthered women workers’ solidarity with the party of the proletariat” (Serditova, *Bol’sheviki v bor’be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 70). The early post-Soviet period brought a reevaluation of the feminists by some Russian scholars, such as Svetlana Aivazova. Aivazova’s *Russkie zhenshchiny* includes essays on the “feminist tradition in Russia” as well as reprints of sixteen talks from the 1908 Women’s Congress. It was specially compiled in commemoration of the ninetieth anniversary of the congress. In addition to Aivazova’s book, a conference honoring the congress was also held in 1998 in Moscow. See T. Barybina, E. Bozhkova, S. Aivazova, G. Negrustueva, eds., *Zhenskoe dvizhenie v kontekste rossiiskoi istorii: 90 let Pervomu Vserossiiskomu zhenskому s”ezdu. Iubileinye chteniia* (Moscow: Eslan, 1999).

136. Vol’kenshtein, “Itogi pervago vs Rossiiskago zhenskii s”ezd,” 149.

137. The quote is from Maria Pokrovskaiia, “Pervyi zhenskii s”ezd,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1909): 1–4, 4.

138. The resolutions of the second section are detailed in *Trudy 1908*, 820–821, 821–823.

139. The resolutions of the third section are detailed in *ibid.*, 823–825.

140. The resolutions of the fourth section are detailed in *ibid.*, 825–828. The quotation is on page 827.
141. These details concerning Dekhtereva's remarks and the ending of the first congress are in *ibid.*, 887.
142. *Kontan* means "paying by cash" in Indonesian.
143. Glinskii, "Pervyi zhenskii vserossiiskii s'ezd," 403.
144. Sudilovskaia in Bobroff, "Bolsheviks and Working Women," 545.
145. Shevyreva and Dekhtereva, as quoted in Ermanskii, "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s'ezd," 112.
146. O. A. Shapir, "Znachenie pervogo vserossiiskogo zhenskogo s'ezda," *Zhenskaia mysl'* (December 15, 1909): 4–7.
147. Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 20.
148. Mirovich, "Pervyi vserossiiskii zhenskii s'ezd," 415.
149. Vol'kenshtein, "Itogi pervago vserossiiskogo zhenskii s'ezd," 152–153.
150. Pokrovskaia, "Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd," 3.
151. Kuskova, "Zhenskii vopros i zhenskii s'ezd," 36 (citing an article by Pokrovskaia in *Novaia Rus*).
152. Pokrovskaia, "Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd," 2.
153. Kuskova, "Zhenskii vopros i zhenskii s'ezd," 37.
154. "Pis'mo prostitutki," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (April 1909): 9–11.
155. Pokrovskaia, "Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd," 3.
156. Kuskova, "Zhenskii vopros i zhenskii s'ezd," 36–38.
157. *Ibid.*, 43, emphasis in the original.
158. *Ibid.*
159. S. Tiurbert, "Ideal i politicheskaia praktika," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (February 1909): 1–6, 5–6.
160. Glinskii, "Pervyi zhenskii vserossiiskii s'ezd," 386, emphasis added.
161. On the political orientation of *Russkoe slovo*, see Ascher, *P. A. Stolypin*, 437; Rozanov's article, "A. P. Filosofova," appeared in *Russkoe slovo*, 38 (1909), and is quoted in Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 434.
162. L. Ruttsen, "Po povodu vykhodki Purishkevicha," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (February 1909): 13–14. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 437–438.
163. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 437; and Ruttsen, "Po povodu vykhodki Purishkevicha," 14.
164. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*. See also "Nashi deputaty," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1909): 84–86. For an account of the appeal, which Purishkevich also lost, see "Delo Purishkevicha v stolichnom mirovom sude," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (March 1909): 15–17. For the quotation, see Yukina, *Russkii feminism kak vyzov*, 397; from the Russian original: "obshchestvennoe vozzrenie na zhenshchinu izmenilos'." Purishkevich used this particular comparison a year later, in a Duma speech when he implied that Russian women students were whores. Again, his remarks aroused vehement protests, although such analogies were not specific to Purishkevich (*Zhenskoe delo*, March 1910, 14, 19–20).
165. M. B., "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s'ezd i rabochaia gruppa," 19.
166. Mikhailova (Kollontai), "Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa na pervom feministkom kongresse v Rossii," 6. Kollontai fled first to Germany, and while there she wrote for *Die gleichheit*. The journal, at first the organ of the German socialist women's movement, later became the official publication of the international socialist women's movement. Printed from 1890 until 1925 in

Stuttgart, it was edited by Zetkin from 1892 until 1917 (Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 115, 380n46). For more information on the German socialist women's movement, see Thönnessen, *Emancipation of Women*; and Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy*.

167. Mikhailova (Kollontai), "Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa na pervom feministkom kongresse v Rossii," 6.

168. Ibid., 6, 7.

169. "W," "Zhenskii s"ezd i rabochaia gruppa," 8.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid.

172. "Ot redaktsii," 9.

173. Chlen P. K., "Rabochaia gruppa na zhenskom s"ezde," 5.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid., 6.

176. Ibid.; M. B., "Vserossiiskii zhenskii s"ezd i rabochaia gruppa," 19. For earlier advocacy of a separate woman workers' organization, see "Khronika," 26; and "Ob organizatsii rabotnits v Rossii," *Golos sotsial-demokrata* (November–December 1908): 9–13. On the dissolution of the workers' group, see Chlen P. K., "Rabochaia gruppa na zhenskom s"ezde," 6.

177. A. Tyrkova, "V provintsii," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (May–June 1909): 20–21; Pokrovskaia, "Pervyi vserossiiskii s"ezd," 4; and Maria Chekhova, "K chitateliu zhurnala 'Soiuz zhenshchin,'" *Soiuz zhenshchin* (December 1909): 1–2, 1.

178. The book almost did not appear at all. There was some trouble getting it published. The Mensheviks decided that it was written in the "Bolshevik spirit" and suggested changes, which Kollontai refused to make. Finally a publisher was found, and the manuscript was sent to Maxim Gorky, then living in Capri, for final approval. The manuscript was delayed on the way back, and Kollontai, who had not made a copy, thought it was lost, but it finally arrived (see Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 61).

179. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 431.

180. Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 252.

181. E. Shchepkina, "Apologiia 'burzhiazok' v knigi g-zhi Kollontai, Sotsial'nye osnovy zhenskogo voprosa," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (April 1909): 11–14, 13; reprinted in Aivazova, *Russkie zhenshchiny*, 367–373, 371.

182. Shchepkina, "Apologiia 'burzhiazok,'" 14.

183. Ibid.

184. A. A. Kal'manovich, *Pretenzii k zhenskomu dvizheniiu voobshche i k pervomu vserossiiskomu zhenskomu s"ezdu v chastnosti. Neskol'ko slov o knige g-zhi Kollontai: Sotsial'nye osnovy zhenskogo voprosa* (St. Petersburg, 1910), 9. Solon, called the lawmaker of Athens, wrote a constitution that mitigated the differences between rich and poor, and established the basis for the growth of democratic institutions. Ibid., 13, 13–36.

185. The workers' group resolutions, which were presented at the end of Kollontai's talk, are in *Trudy 1908*, 798–800. The Women's Congress resolutions are on pages 820–828 of ibid.

186. Ibid., 823–824.

187. Kal'manovich, *Pretenzii k zhenskomu dvizheniiu voobshche*, 12.

188. Haber, "Fashioning Life," 65, for the quotation from "The Male Congress." For the full text in English of Teffi's earlier play, "The Woman Question," first performed in 1907, see Nadezhda Teffi, "The Woman Question," translated by Elizabeth Neatrour, in Kelly, *Anthology of Russian Women's Writing*, 174–192.

Chapter 6. “*And Who Will Tend the Geese?*”

The chapter title comes from Duma delegate Novitskii, Third Duma, February 17, 1911, during a debate on a proposal for limited women’s suffrage in regional representative bodies (*volost zemstvos*). *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety. Tretii sozyu, sessiia IV*, February 17, 1911, vol. 2, 2266. *Epigraphs*: M. Orlovskaiia, “Proekt organizatsii zhenskikh klubov vo vsexh gorodov Rossii,” *Trudy 1908*, 580–586, 585. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Gosudarstvennyi Soviet i iuristki,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (February 1913): 45.

1. Emmons, *Formation of Political Parties*, 374. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 132.
2. For a discussion of the urban social mood in this period, see Haimson, “The Parties and the State,” 368.
3. Library and Archives Canada, National Archives Canada, International Council of Women Archive, vol. 46, Box 116, File 687, letter from Anna Filosofova to Lady Aberdeen, dated January 14, 1910.
4. Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 219.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Gurevich’s comments to Chekhova are in Tsentral’nyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskvy (TsIAM, State Historical Archive of the city of Moscow), Fond 2251, “Chekhova,” opis 1, delo 163, s. 23, 23–24.
7. Maria Chekhova, “K chitateliu,” TsIAM, Fond 2251, 2.
8. M. V. Orlovskaiia, *O zhenskom dvizhenii v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 5.
9. *Zhenskaia mysl’* (November 15, 1909): 1.
10. *Ibid.* and *Zhenskaia mysl’* (January 1, 1910): 1.
11. For the range of material in the journal, see any issue. A. Seslavinskii, “O zhenskom voprose,” *Zhenskaia mysl’* (November 15, 1909): 3–5, 5. On the 1908 congress, see Olga Shapir, “Znachenie pervogo vs Rossiiskogo zhenskogo s’ezda,” *Zhenskaia mysl’* (December 15, 1909): 4–7. On debates within the international feminist movement, see the article following it, on Ellen Key’s maternalist theories (“Ellen Kei,” *Zhenskaia mysl’*, 8–10). I have only been able to find issues of this periodical through January 15, 1910.
12. “Myi protestuem,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1910): 79–81.
13. *Zhenskaia mysl’* (Kiev, 1909–1910).
14. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Kak pishetsia istoriia,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1911): 78–82, 79. Pokrovskaiia lived at 42 Shpalernaia Street, now the site of a modern apartment complex.
15. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Muzh’ia i Zhenskii vestnik,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (October 1906): 257–258, 257.
16. M. I. Pokrovskaiia, “Provintsiia otkliknulas’,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (September 1909): 161–167, 165. The statistics on women workers’ salaries vary, but they could be as low as six rubles per month and averaged thirteen rubles a month during this period. See Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia*, 220; and Frosina, “Biudzhiet semei rabotnits,” *Trudy 1908*, 318–340, who gives somewhat higher figures.
17. Pokrovskaiia, “Provintsiia otkliknulas’,” 165, 164–165.
18. Jane Gary Harris, “Women’s Periodicals in Early Twentieth-Century Russia,” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women’s Movements*, 109–114, 112.
19. *Ibid.*, 112.
20. *Zhenskoe delo* (Moscow 1910–1917).
21. *Zhenskoe delo* (January 10, 1910): 1–2.
22. “S. M. Rodionov,” *Zhenskoe delo* (November 1, 1915): 1–2.

23. TsIAM, Fond 2251, opis 1 and 2.
24. Roshchina, "Sredi zabytykh imen," *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913 god* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia "Viktoriia," 1914), 89.
25. Irina Yukina, "Shishkina-Iavein, Poliksena (1875–1947)," in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms*, 510–513, and personal conversations with Yukina and Nonna Igorievna Roshchina, Shishkina-Iavein's granddaughter.
26. *Ustav obshchestva pod nazvaniem 'Rossiiskaia liga ravnopraviiia zhenshchin'* (St. Petersburg, 1911,) 8, I, 2–3.
27. Ibid., 4–5. "Spisok chlenov," *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913, 92–III. Otchety Rossiiskoi ligi ravnopraviiia zhenshchin za 1914 i 1915 gg.* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia "Viktoriia," 1916).
28. "Khronika zhenskogo voprosa v Rossii," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (June–July 1907): 18.
29. Klirikova, a factory physician, was secretary to the Second All-Russian Congress of Factory Physicians, held in 1911 (Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 223). For her talk at the 1908 Women's Congress, see O. N. Klirikova (Iaroslavl'), *Zhenskaia kultura* (Woman's culture), in Aivazova, *Russkie zhenshchiny*, 297–307. Klirikova summarizes the sociologist Georg Simmel's ideas about the potential intellectual and cultural contributions of women to the world, arguing that as the women's movement awakens the majority of humankind, their achievements and impact will be even greater than those resulting from the workers' movement.
30. Exact membership figures for the League are difficult to determine. The *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1913 god* gives membership at "above 1000" (11) and the *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1915 god* states that membership in the Petrograd chapter alone was more than 1,500 (153).
31. M. A. Chekhova, "Rossiiskaia liga ravnopraviiia zhenshchin," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (February 1909): 17–19, 17–18.
32. Ibid., 18–19.
33. N. V. Chekhov, "Otkrytie Moskovskogo otdeleniia Rossiiskoi ligi ravnopraviiia zhenshchin," *Soiuz zhenshchin* (December 1909): 15–18.
34. Maria Raikh, "Tseli i zadachi Rossiiskoi ligi ravnopraviiia zhenshchin," *Zhenskoe delo* (January 1, 1911): 18–21, 18.
35. On the Pankhursts, see chapter 3 in this book, note 20. On the Chinese suffragists' militance, see Kazuko, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution*.
36. Lir', "V. F. Kommissarzhevskaiia o zhenskom voprose," *Rech'* 314 (December 21, 1908): 5.
37. Tolstoy's response to Pokrovskaiia as in *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1909): 44.
38. Tolstoy's comments as reported in *Zhenskoe delo* (June 25, 1910): 20. The question of Tolstoy's attitudes toward women could be the subject of several books. His dialogue with Severova was reported in *Zhenskoe delo* as follows:

Tolstoy: Since the woman is in general often sick—pregnant—then naturally she is weaker than the man. And thus, if the woman is weaker and wants a happy family life, it is natural that she should submit to the man. This situation has gone on for six thousand years.

Severova: In what ways should she submit?

Tolstoy: In moral and religious demands. For example, if her husband says: "It is not good to hire a peasant woman to wash the clothes," then she herself must wash them!

Severova: But don't you grant, Lev Nikolaevich, that there are women who are equal to men?

- Tolstoy: I'll grant that, and women should be equal before the law. I speak only of family life. But in general, I consider women to be lower than men.
39. See V. M. Khvostov, *Zhenshchina nakanune novoi epokhi* (Moscow, 1905) and *Zhenshchina i chelovecheskoe dostoinstvo* (Moscow, 1914); and Pavel Mizhnev, *Zhenskii Vopros i zhenskoe dvizhenie* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Al'tshulera, 1906).
  40. "Anketa," *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1912): 151.
  41. Woroszyński, *Life of Mayakovsky*, 39–41, 95, 112.
  42. Catriona Kelly, "The Education of the Will: Advice Literature, *Zakal*, and Manliness in Early Twentieth-Century Russia," in Clements, Friedman, and Healey, *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, 131–151, 134–135n14.
  43. See, for example, Safran and Zipperstein, *Worlds of S. An-sky*, especially the material on An-sky's ethnographic research.
  44. M. I. Pokrovskaya, "Nashi tolstye zhurnaly i zhenskoe dvizhenie," *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1910): 137–140; and *Zhenskoe delo* (July 25, 1910): 17. Of the remaining students, 7.7 percent were indifferent, 3.2 percent uncertain, and 5.5 percent did not respond to this question.
  45. *Zhenskii vestnik* (September 1909): 172–174; *Zhenskii vestnik* (October 1909): 199–203; *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1909): 236–240; and *Zhenskii vestnik* (December 1909): 253–259.
  46. *Zhenskii vestnik* (September 1909): 172–174.
  47. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyv, sessiia IV*, February 17, 1911, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1911), 2252–2253.
  48. M. I. Pokrovskaya, "Shirokie krugi naseleniia ob izbiratel'nykh pravakh zhenshchin," *Zhenskii vestnik* (September 1912): 177–184.
  49. Orlovskaya, "Proekt organizatsii zhenskikh klubov vo vseh gorodov Rossii," 585.
  50. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 9.
  51. *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1914*, 1–2. On antifeminism in the United States and Britain, see Howard and Adams Tarrant, *Anti-feminism in America*; and Bush, *Women against the Vote*.
  52. E. A. Degaltseva, "Zhenskoe dvizhenie v dorevoliutsionnoi Sibiri," available online at [http://www.zaimka.ru/07\\_women/html](http://www.zaimka.ru/07_women/html) (accessed on August 3, 2008), 3–4.
  53. "Anketa chlenov Gos. Dumy o ravnopravii zhenshchin," *Zhenskii vestnik* (February 1909): 52–55, 52–53, reports on the questionnaire. "Eroticheskoe pomeshatel'stvo pravykh," *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1911): 103, recounts Purishkevich's response.
  54. The Third Duma sat from November 1, 1907, through June 9, 1912. This discussion refers to bills presented in the second to fifth sessions, from 1909 through 1912.
  55. Adzhemov as quoted in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, sessiia II*, February 4, 1914, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1914), 399–400.
  56. The imperial couple's traditional views on the role of women ironically contrast with the reality of their relationship and the countless attacks on the empress as the power behind the throne.
  57. Maria Girshman, "O prave zhenshchin byt' advokatami," *Trudy* 1908, 427–434, 428. Married women could not get credit in their own names in the United States into the 1970s. See, for example, Gager, *Women's Rights Almanac*, 518.
  58. Sinaiskii, *Lichnoe i imushchestvennoe polozhenie zamuzhnei zhenshchiny*, V, 288–289, 333–335. See Freeze, *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia*.
  59. A wife was listed on her husband's passport. She had to request a separate passport.



60. "O razdel'nom zhitel'stve suprugov," *Prilozheniia k stenograficheskim otchetam Gos-oi dумы, Tretii sozyu, sessiia III*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1910), no. 416. Pobedonostsev wrote: "How precious are the old institutions, the old traditions, the old customs!" in his *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, translated by R. C. Long (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 184.

61. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyu, sessiia II*, February 4, 1914, vol. 2, 367.

62. See Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*; Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*; and Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*.

63. Sinaiskii, *Lichnoe i imushchestvennoe*, 294–296.

64. "Khronika zhenskogo dela," *Zhenskoe delo* (June 1, 1913): 20–21.

65. M. I. Pokrovskaia, "Zakreposhchenie zhen," *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1909): 139–140.

66. Anna N. Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 28; "Russkoe zhenskoe vzaimnoblagoтворitel'noe obshchestvo," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1913 god*, 17–19, 19.

67. The text of the proposal is in *Prilozheniia, Tretii sozyu, sessiia III*, 1910, no. 416. The 1910 Duma consideration of the proposal is in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, May 10, 1910, vol. 4, 946; and *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Obzor deiatel'nosti komissii, otdel V, Tretii sozyu, sessiia III* (St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1910), 183. The February Duma discussion is in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia IV*, February 11, 1911, vol. 2, 1654; A. I. Shingarev, "Voprosy zhenskogo ravnopraviia v Tret'ei Gosudarstvennoi Dume," *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1912 god*, 47–52, 51; "O razdel'nom zhitel'stve suprugov," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1911): 75–77, 75–76. The April 1912 Duma information is in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia V*, April 11, 1912 (St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1912), vol. 3, 1876–1883.

68. Manning, *Crisis of the Old Order in Russia*, 355.

69. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyu, sessiia I*, April 2, 1913, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1913), 326; *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyu, sessiia II*, February 4, 1914, vol. 2, 362–427; and *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyu, sessiia II*, March 21, 1914, vol. 3, 6.

70. "Zakon o razdel'nom zhitel'stve suprugov," *Zhenskoe delo* (April 15, 1914): 2.

71. Ibid.

72. "Esche o razvode," *Zhenskoe delo* (September 11, 1913): 2.

73. Cheplevskaia et al., "K voprosu o rasprostraneniia na zhenshchin grazhdanskikh prav ravenstva v razdele nasledstva," *Trudy 1908*, 594–597, 594.

74. On the earlier considerations of inheritance reform, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia II*, May 29, 1909 (St. Petersburg: Gos. Tip., 1909), 2580. On the introduction of the legislative proposal see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia II*, February 3, 1909, vol. 1, 838. On the Ministry of Justice proposal, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia III*, April 26, 1910, vol. 1, 8. On the discussion of the proposal, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia IV*, February 17, 1911, vol. 2, 2238–45, and March 19, 1911, vol. 3, 1142–1166. On the passage of the bill, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia IV*, May 9, 1911, vol. 3, 3772. For Kropotov's objection, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia IV*, March 19, 1911, vol. 3, 1143–1144.

75. On the State Council changes, see I. Popov, "Pered chetvertoi dumoi," *Zhenskoe delo* (November 15, 1912): 1–2, 1. On the adoption of the law, see A. Luchinskaia, "Novye zakony o

‘rasshirenii’ prav zhenshchin i ob ‘uravnenii’ ikh s pravami muzhchin,” *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1913 god*, 1–6, 3.

76. Girshman, “O prave zhenshchin byt’ advokatami,” 429–430; S. A. Bubnova, “Vliianie grazhdanskago polozheniia zhenshchiny na eia iuridicheskuiu professiiu,” *Trudy 1908*, 807–816, 813–815; S. V. Baumshtein, “Zhenshchina-iurist,” *Trudy 1908*, 421–427, 425; A. N. Kremlev, “O grazhdanskom vospitanii zhenshchiny i o predostavlenii zhenshchinam prava zanimat’sia iuridicheskoi professiei,” *Trudy 1908*, 434–441, 438–439; *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia V*, May 24, 1912, vol. 4, 2448. Reflecting the concerns of those planning and attending the 1908 Women’s Congress, four talks, in many ways overlapping, addressed the question of equal rights for women lawyers. In three cases from 1874 to 1876, the Senate upheld the nonapplicability of the ministry ruling to criminal trials. The right of women to practice in criminal cases was upheld by the Senate in 1895 (see Girshman, “O prave zhenshchin byt’ advokatami,” 429).

77. M. I. Pokrovskaia, “Predrassudki v sude,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (December 1909): 261–263; S. A. Krasinskaia-Eliasheva and A. I. Rubashova-Zorokhovich, “Iuridicheskii fakul’tet,” in Valk, *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vysshie Zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie) Kursy*, 148–155, 155; and Bil’shai, *Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 78–79. Ekaterina Abramovna Fleishits (1888–1968) was twenty-one when she challenged the tsarist ban on women civil attorneys. After the revolution she became a respected lawyer, authoring several books about the Soviet legal system, including one about “bourgeois civil rights” and another about copyright law. Her *Civil Codes of the Soviet Republics* was translated into English and published after her death.

78. For the introduction of the proposal, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia III*, November 16, 1909, vol. 1, 1929. For the disposition to the committee, see *ibid.*, February 10, 1910, vol. 2, 975. For the reporting out, see *ibid.*, *sessiia V*, November 25, 1911, vol. 1, 2570, and December 10, 1911, vol. 1, 3711. For the debate, see *ibid.*, March 13, 1912, vol. 3, 1022–1048.

79. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia V*, March 13, 1912, vol. 3, 1022.

80. See Verevkin’s arguments in *ibid.*, 1028, 1025–1028.

81. Timoshkin’s comments are in *ibid.*, 1036–1037.

82. The Octobrists’ response is in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu*, May 23, 1912, vol. 4, 2334.

83. Uvarov’s comments are in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu*, March 13, 1912, vol. 3, 1047.

84. Guchkov’s comments are in *ibid.*, May 24, 1912, vol. 4, 2453.

85. Luchinskaia, “Novye zakony o ‘rasshirenii’ prav zhenshchin,” 5.

86. On the lobbying, see “Advokatesy i Gosudarstvennyi Soviet,” *Zhenskoe delo* (February 1, 1913): 1. On the State Council vote, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyu, sessiia I*, January 30, 1913, vol. 1, 1139.

87. Shcheglovitov as quoted in Baumshtein, “Zhenshchina-iurist,” 426.

88. Rogger, “Beilis Case,” 621. At the time the Beilis trial was compared to the murder trial in the U.S. state of Georgia of Leo Frank. Both of the accused were Jews. A jury of Ukrainian peasants (no member of the intelligentsia was part of the group) acquitted Beilis, who emigrated to the United States from Palestine in 1920. An all-white Georgia jury convicted Frank on trumped-up evidence, imposing the death penalty. After fruitless appeals all the way to the Supreme Court, the Georgia governor commuted Frank’s sentence to life. Frank was lynched on August 17, 1915; his case sparked the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan.

89. Pokrovskaiia, “Gosudarstvennyi Soviet i iuristki,” 45; and Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 30. Ivan G. Shcheglovitov, an 1881 graduate of the Imperial School of Jurisprudence and an official in the Ministry of Justice from 1890, served as minister of justice from 1906 to 1915. He is probably best known for his role in the unsuccessful 1913 anti-Semitic ritual murder trial of Mendel Beilis. After the Bolshevik Revolution he was arrested and executed (see Miliukov, *Political Memoirs*, 491; and Wagner, *Marriage, Property, and Law in Late Imperial Russia*, 6–7). The exceedingly quick action by the government and the severity of the sentences for Sture and Shutliatikova in 1908 aroused public opinion and particularly incensed Bestuzhev students (see S. I. Strievskaiia, “Uchastie Bestuzhevok v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii,” in Valk, *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vysshie Zhenskie [Bestuzhevskie] Kursy*, 30–73, 63).

90. Pokrovskaiia, “Gosudarstvennyi Soviet i iuristki,” 45, and “Advokatesy i Gosudarstvennyi Soviet,” 1.

91. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chet. Sozyu, sessiia II*, November 6, 1913, vol. 1, 754–755. For the text of the proposal, see *Prilozheniia k stenograficheskim otchetam Gos-oi Dumy, Chet. Sozyu, sessiia II* (St. Petersburg, 1914), nos. 76–77. Krasinskaia-Eliasheva and Rubashova-Zorokhovich, “Iuridicheskii fakul’tet,” 155. For the text of the Provisional Government law, see Robert Browder and Alexander Kerensky, eds., *The Russian Provisional Government* 3 vols. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), vol. 1, 238–239.

92. On the lobbying, see “Obrashchenie Ligi ravnopraviia zhenshchin,” *Zhenskoe delo* (December 15, 1911); and *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1912): 29. On the women lawyers’ society, see Krasinskaia-Eliasheva and Rubashova-Zorokhovich, “Iuridicheskii fakul’tet,” 155.

93. On the committee, see *Zhenskii vestnik* (November 1911): 247 and *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1912): 29.

94. M. S. Vakhtina, “Obshchestvo okhraneniia prav zhenshchin,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (May–June 1910): 128–129 and *Zhenskii vestnik* (May–June 1912): 139–140.

95. “Zhenskoe ravnopravie i tretii Gosudarstvennaia Duma,” *Zhenskoe delo* (May 1, 1911): 2–3, 2.

96. Novitskii’s remark is in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia IV*, February 1911, 17, vol. 2, 2266. Golitsyn’s speech is in *ibid.*, 2264.

97. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyu, sessiia V*, February 15, 1912, vol. 2, 2163. For the full text of the proposal, see *Prilozheniia k stenograficheskim otchetam Gos-oi Dumy, Tretii sozyu, sessiia V* (St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1912), no. 336.

98. “Samoderzhavie i izbiratel’nye prava zhenshchin,” *Krasnyi arkhiv* 6, no. 79 (1936): 26–33, 29.

99. *Ibid.*, 31. Liechtenstein in 1984 became the last European state to grant women suffrage. See Daley and Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond*, 352.

100. Shcheglovitov as quoted in “Samoderzhavie i izbiratel’nye prava zhenshchin,” 32.

101. *Ibid.*, 33; Bil’shai, *Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 78; and Serditova, *Bol’sheviki v bor’be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 78–79.

102. “Samoderzhavie i izbiratel’nye prava zhenshchin,” 33; Bil’shai, *Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 78; and Serditova, *Bol’sheviki v bor’be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 78.

103. “Pered vyborami v Gos. Dumu,” *Zhenskoe delo* (September 15, 1912): 1–2, 1. Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 29–30. On the university rules, see “Novyi proekt universitetskogo ustava,” *Vestnik evropy* (March 1910): 334–353, 348; *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* (October 1912): 131–137; “Shag vpered,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (May–June 1912): 135–138; and Satina, *Education of Women in Pre-revolutionary Russia*, 31.

104. “Pered vyborami v Gos. Dumu,” 1; and Shabanova, *Ocherk zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, 29–30.
105. “Pered vyborami v Gos. Dumu,” 2.
106. *Zhenskoe delo* (November 15, 1912): 1. See also Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia* (New York, 1961), 261, 269.
107. Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, 165–166.
108. Ibid., 166. For the introduction of the proposals, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, sessiia I*, December 3, 1912, vol. 1, 154. For the texts of the proposals, see *Prilozheniia k stenograficheskim otchetam Gos-oi Dumy, Chetvertyi sozyv, sessiia I* (St. Petersburg: Gos. Tip., 1913).
109. Ibid. On International Woman’s Day in 1913, see Choi Chatterjee’s important survey, *Celebrating Women*, 21–29.
110. Miliukov’s comments are in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessiia I* (March 13, 1913), vol. 1, 2176.
111. Ibid., 2174. Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, 166.
112. Suttner’s comments are in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, March 13, 1913, 2176.
113. Filonenko’s comments are in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessiia I*, March 8, 1913, 2063.
114. Miliukov as quoted in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, March 13, 1913, 2177–2179.
115. For the text of the Trudovik bill, see *Prilozheniia, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessiia I*, no. 124.
116. Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 222; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 152–153; Miliukov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, 166; Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 459; and Pokrovskaiia, “Podvinulis li myi vpered,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1913): 97–98, 98.
117. Miliukov’s comments are in *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety*, March 13, 1913, 2177.
118. For Iagodynskii’s comments, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessiia I*, March 8, 1913, 2060–2064. For Shidlovskii’s remarks, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessiia I*, March 13, 1913, 2186–2194. The quotation is on page 2191.
119. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessiia I*, March 13, 1913, 2222; and “Gosudarstvennaia Duma i zhenshchina,” *Zhenskoe delo* (April 1, 1913): 1.
120. E. Fleishits, “Pervyi vserossiiskii s’ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin,” *Vestnik Evropy* (February 1913): 361–365, 362.
121. *Trudy vserossiiskogo s’ezda po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 2; and “Pis’mo iz Peterburga,” 18. E. F. Bagaeva was the founder of the first women’s architecture courses, located in St. Petersburg and opened in 1902 as a two-year program, expanding to a four-year program by 1904–1905. See Dudgeon, “Women and Higher Education in Russia,” appendix 2, 397; and Gouzévitch and Gouzévitch, “Difficult Challenges of No Man’s Land,” 171.
122. “Vserossiiskii s’ezd po zhenskomu obrazovaniiu,” *Zhenskoe delo* (February 1, 1913): 1.
123. On the attendance, see Fleishits, “Pervyi vserossiiskii s’ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin,” 365. On Kudelli’s talk, see Serditova, *Bol’sheviki v bor’be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 79–80. On Kuskova’s talk and the resolution, see Fleishits, “Pervyi vserossiiskii s’ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin,” 364–365.
124. Fleishits, “Pervyi vserossiiskii s’ezd po obrazovaniiu zhenshchin,” 364–365.
125. Ibid., 365.

126. Dudgeon, "Forgotten Minority," 2.
127. For an excellent survey of changing concepts of sexuality and feminist reactions to them in England and the United States at the same time, see Walkowitz, "'Vision of Salome,'" especially 374–376.
128. A. V. Tyrkova, "Izmenenie zhenskoi psikhologii za poslednne stoletie," *Trudy s"ezda po obrazovaniiu*, 1–5, 4.
129. "Pis'mo iz Peterburga," 19.
130. E. Letkova, "Krasivaia zhizn'," *Sbornik pamiati Filosofovoi*, 26–34, 32.
131. See the report on Vakhtina's talk to the 1908 Women's Congress in chapter 5 in this book.
132. *Zhenskii vestnik* (February 1913): 63.
133. Pokrovskaia, "Nashi tolstye zhurnaly i zhenskoe dvizhenie," 227. Pokrovskaia continues to be portrayed as antisex by contemporary historians. In an otherwise excellent, perceptive, and sympathetic recent essay on Pokrovskaia, Linda Edmondson uses terms like "eccentric" and "puritanical" to characterize Pokrovskaia's views and her life. See Edmondson, "Pokrovskaia," in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 196–221, especially 196, 214, and 215. Reviewing Edmondson's article, Catriona Kelly calls Pokrovskaia "worthy but repressive" (see Kelly, "Review of *An Improper Profession*," 290–292, 291).
134. Pokrovskaia, "Kak pishetsia istoriia," 81.
135. Pokrovskaia, "Nashi tolstye zhurnaly i zhenskoe dvizhenie," 227, 228.
136. Edmondson, "Pokrovskaia," in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 209; and Engelstein, *Keys to Happiness*, 396.
137. There has been greater research about homosexual male relationships than about lesbianism in this period. The most extensive exploration of lesbianism is in Burgin, *Sophia Parnok*. See also Engelstein, "Lesbian Vignettes." On Russian men, see Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia*.
138. "Zhenskii trud v Rossii: Fabrichno-zavodskaiia rabotnitsa," *Zhenskii vestnik* (September 1913): 178–182, 182.
139. For an account of police harassment, see *Zhenskii vestnik* (May 1905): 157–158; for Pokrovskaia's experience, see "O zhenskoi prestupnosti," *Zhenskii vestniki* (October 1905): 293–294.
140. The fullest discussion of the prostitution question in prerevolutionary Russia is Bernstein's *Sonia's Daughters*.
141. *Zhenskii al'manakh* (Odessa, 1901), 144–145; A. G. Borodina, "Tsel' i zadachi 'Obshchestvo zashchity zhenshchiny,'" *Trudy 1908*, 56–65, 56–57; and *Rossiiskoe obshchestvo zashchity zhenshchin v 1913 godu* (Petrograd, 1914), 3–4, 133–134.
142. Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 124.
143. *Zhenskii al'manakh*, 144–145.
144. *Rossiiskoe obshchestvo v 1913*, 83–97, 145–150.
145. Ibid. Jews were severely restricted from living outside the Pale of Settlement. In order to study or reside in St. Petersburg and Moscow, some Jewish women registered as prostitutes. Such a situation is portrayed in the 1915 Polish film *Czarna Ksiazeczka* (The yellow ticket), remade in Germany in 1918 as *Die Gelbe Schein* and released in the United States in 1922 as *The Devil's Pawn*. The films starred Pola Negri.
146. Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye osnovy*, 136.
147. Madison, *Social Welfare in the Soviet Union*, 23. A visit to the municipal court of any large U.S. city makes clear that the question of prostitution in this society is still basically un-

resolved. The approach is still the same combination of philanthropy and/or punishment. Prostitution continued to exist in the Soviet period, more or less openly, depending on the time period. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, prostitution increased greatly, as did international sex trafficking. Russian prostitutes are so common in Turkey that Turks call them “Natashas.”

148. For the discussion of this measure, see *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Tretii sozyv, Sessia II*, May 8, 1909, vol. 4, 887–898. For a feminist criticism of the law, see *Otchet o deiatel'nosti Rossiiskoi ligi ravnopraviiia zhenshchin za 1913 god.* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 14–15.

149. *Trudy pervogo vserossiiskogo s'ezda po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami i ego prichinami proiskhodivshchago v S-Peterburge s 21 do 25 apreliia 1910 goda*, vols. 1–2 (St. Petersburg, 1911–1912); and “Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (May–June 1910): 114–119.

150. N. Mirovich, “Po povodu pervogo vserossiiskogo s'ezda dlia bor'by s torgom zhenshchinami,” *Zhenskoe delo* (May 25, 1910): 5–6. For an excellent discussion of the entire issue of prostitution in this time period and the congress, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, passim.

151. “Khronika,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1910): 112.

152. Mirovich, “Po povodu,” 6.

153. Ibid. For more on this perspective, see Engelstein, *Keys to Happiness*.

154. Zosia, “Prostitutsiia i brak,” *Zhenskoe delo* (July 10, 1910): 14–16, 15.

155. Ibid. For Charlotte Perkins Gilman's ideas, see her *Women and Economics* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.), 1898.

156. “Zosia,” “Prostitutsiia i brak,” 16.

157. Kollontai as quoted in A. Mikhailova, “Zadachi rabotnits v bor'be s prostitutsiei,” *Golos sotsial-demokrata* (April 1910): 3–4, 3.

158. Pokrovskaiia's activities are recounted in Belitskaia, “Poliklinicheskaia pomoshch',” 67.

159. A. I. Kuprin, *Sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow: Pravda, 1964), vol. 6, 63. I am indebted to Richard Stites for bringing this quotation to my attention.

160. *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913*, 5–6; Pokrovskaiia, “Pirogovskii s'ezd i prostitutsiia,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (July–August 1913): 167–168.

161. *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913*, 6. Andrei I. Shingarev, a zemstvo leader and deputy in the Second, Third, and Fourth Dumas, served as minister of agriculture and then finance in the Provisional Government. He was arrested and murdered in 1918, along with fellow Kadet Fedor Kokoshkin, in the Mariinskii Hospital, while they were Bolshevik prisoners.

162. For the text of the bill, see *Prilozhenie k stenograficheskim otchetam Gos-oi Dumy, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessia II* (St. Petersburg, 1914), vol. 1–2, no. 28; and *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913*, 7–19. The quotation is on page 9.

163. *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913*, 18–19.

164. On Saburov and the fate of the bill, see *ibid.*, 19–20. On the abolition of the registration system, see Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 371; and Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 296.

165. *Otchet Rossiiskoi Ligi Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin za 1913*, 24–25; and *Prilozheniia, Chetvertyi sozyv, sessia I*, no. 114.

166. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, Sessia I*, April 24, 1913, vol. 2, 539–543.

167. Ibid., 550. Roman Malinovskii (1876–1918) was unmasked in 1914 as a police spy.

168. *Gosudarstvennaia Duma: Stenograficheskie otchety, Chetvertyi sozyv, sessiia IV*, June 20, 1916, vol. 3, 5788.

169. Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 24–25.

170. O. I. Dubrovina, "Rabochiia obshchestva samoobrazovaniia v g. S-Peterburge i ikh znachenie dlia zhenshchin," *Trudy 1908*, 571–580, 578–580.

171. On Kollontai, see *Iz moei*, 109–110. On the closing of the club, see *Zhenskii vestniki* (November 1913): 264.

172. For a more detailed discussion of the wave of strikes, see Bobroff, "Bolsheviks and Working Women," 540–567; and Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, 189–218, and 277–278n96.

173. M. Tikhomirova, "Zhenskii klub," in Alexandra Artiukhina, *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii* (Moscow: Gos. izdatel'stvo pol. literatury, 1959), 112–116, 112. Sofia Pavlovna Nevzorova-Shesterninina (1868–1943) studied at the Bestuzhev women's courses, beginning in 1893. A Social Democrat from 1898, she was arrested, imprisoned, and exiled more than once. She participated in the Moscow uprising in December 1905. After the October Revolution she worked for the commissariat of education and in the History of the Party section of the Party Central Committee (see Evteeva, *Vysshie zhenskie [Bestuzhevskie] kursy: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 157).

Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova-Krzhizhanovskaia (1870–1948) was a student of the Bestuzhev women's courses in the physics-math division from 1894. In 1895 she joined the Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class, the Social Democratic umbrella organization for all of St. Petersburg. She joined the Social Democratic party in 1898, becoming secretary of the Russian branch of Iskra in 1902. After the October Revolution she worked in the Moscow regional council, then in the commissariat of education. She was married to Gleb M. Krzhizhanovskii (1872–1959), an old Bolshevik confidant of Lenin's who served after the revolution from 1921 to 1930 as head of Gosplan. From 1929 he was a member and vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party from 1924 to 1939. Another Nevzorova sister, A. P. (1872–1926), was also an active Bolshevik. See Evteeva, *Vysshie zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie) kursy: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 157; Artiukhina, *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii*, 452; and V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress, 1967), vol. 37, 728. Dodonova, Piskunova, and Pomerants (listed as "Pomerantseva") are listed in the database compiled by Barbara Evans Clements, in *Bolshevik Women*, 317–318.

174. Tikhomirova, "Zhenskii klub," 112.

175. Ibid., 113; and Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 76–77. On the move to underground work, see V. Vavilina, ed., *Vsegda s vami: Sbornik, posviashchennyi 50-letiiu zhurnala "Rabotnitsa"* (Moscow: Pravda, 1964), 14–15.

176. Tikhomirova, "Zhenskii klub," 116.

177. Ibid.

178. Morrissey, *Heralds of Revolution*, 174–177.

179. On the origins of International Women's Day, see Kaplan, "On the Socialist Origins of International Women's Day." See also the comments on the impact of the 1908 Women's Congress in chapter 5 in this book.

180. Zetkin as quoted in Alexandra Kollontai, *International Women's Day*, translated by Alix Holt (Highland Park, Mich.: International Socialist Publishing Co., 1974, originally published in 1920). See <http://www.marxists.org/archive/Kollontai/1920/womens-day.htm> (accessed on January 23, 2007), 2.

181. Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 64–65.

182. Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 253; Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 19; Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement*; and Foner, *Clara Zetkin, Selected Writings*.

183. Kollontai, *International Women's Day*, 2–3.
184. Elwood, *Inessa Armand*, 105; and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 168n38.
185. The fullest study of the celebration of International Women's Day in Russia is Chatterjee's *Celebrating Women*. On the 1913 celebration, see pages 21–29.
186. Ibid.; and Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 88.
187. On the special issues, see Kollontai, *Iz moei*, 124; on *Pravda*, see Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, "Vpervye v Rossii," *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii*, 93–111, 96. On the extent of the celebrations, see Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 43.
188. Tikhomirova, "Zhenskii klub," 114–115; Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 89; and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 28.
189. Konkordiia Nikolaevna Samoilova (1876–1921) enrolled at the Bestuzhev women's courses in 1896. She participated in and helped organize a student demonstration in 1897, was reprimanded and finally in 1901 expelled from the courses for organizing student and worker demonstrations after she was arrested as one of the organizers of the 1901 Kazan Cathedral demonstration. A participant in the 1905 revolution, she served from 1909 to 1910 as a member of the Petersburg Committee of the RSDLP. From November 1912 she was secretary of the editorial staff of *Pravda*, and she pushed for the inclusion of more articles for women. One of the organizers of and a member of the first editorial collective of *Rabotnitsa*, she was arrested and jailed for this, returning to Petrograd only after the February Revolution, when she again became part of the editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*. After the revolution she continued her active work, helped organize the First All-Russian Congress of Working and Peasant Women, lectured widely, and wrote innumerable articles. In 1921, while plying the Volga in an "agitational steamship," Samoilova contracted cholera and died. See Evteeva, *Vysshie zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie) kursy: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 161; Strievskaia, "Uchastie Bestuzhevok v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii," 47; Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 50–51; and Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 84.
190. On the police behavior, see Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, "Vpervye v Rossii," 97. On the celebration as a whole, see *ibid.* and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 21–28. Margarita Nikolaevna Margulies-Aitova was a physician, and after her activity with the Women's Political Club, she helped establish a club for working women, gave a series of lectures at an evening school for adult workers founded by Praskov'ia Arian, and in 1911 helped found a clinic called Mothers' Aid (Pomoshch' materiam), which provided medical examinations for newborns and distributed sterilized milk and broth to needy mothers. In addition to her research and political activities, Margulies also penned a number of articles. See *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar' na 1914 god*, 323.
191. Anna Il'ichna Ulianova-Elizarova (1864–1935), Lenin's older sister, a revolutionary in her own right, was part of the revolutionary movement since 1886, a member of the RSDLP since 1898, from 1900 to 1905 part of the Iskra organization, and from 1904 to 1906 treasurer of the St. Petersburg Bolshevik Committee. From 1912 to 1914, she worked on *Pravda*, *Prosveshchenie* (Enlightenment), and was part of *Rabotnitsa's* first editorial collective. In 1917 she served as the secretary of the editorial board of *Pravda* and from 1918 to 1921 worked in the commissariat of education. She helped found the Lenin Institute. See Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 37, 631; and Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 44–46. Alexandra Nikolaevna Grigor'eva-Alekseeva (1888–?) was an activist in the Textile Workers' Union. After the October Revolution she was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner for her activity in the Bolshevik underground. See Artiukhina, *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii*, 93; and Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 88.
192. Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, "Vpervye v Rossii," 97–98; and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 25–26.



193. Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, "Vpervye v Rossii," 98. For other accounts of the day, see "Zhenskii den'," *Zhenskoe delo* (March 1, 1913): 1–2; and "Pervyi zhenskii den' russkikh rabotnits," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1913): 86–87. Soviet accounts of International Women's Day celebrations emphasized the Bolsheviks' leadership role to the exclusion of everyone else.
194. Ulianova-Elizarova as quoted in Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 43.
195. Elwood, *Inessa Armand*, 105; and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 168n38.
196. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 35n81.
197. Ibid.
198. The *Domostroi* was a late medieval (1566) treatise on household management, supposedly written by the monk Silvestre during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, in which, among other things, the author advocated permissible ways of beating women. See Pouncy, *Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible*. Pokrovskaiia's comments are from her article "Kak rabochie ponimaiut feminism," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1913): 67–68.
199. Pokrovskaiia in "Pervyi zhenskii den'," 87.
200. K. Samoilova, "V ob'edinenii—zalog pobedy," in Artiukhina, *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii*, 104–107; and Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 45.
201. Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 44–45; and Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 96–99.
202. See Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 34, on the feminist celebration of International Women's Day. Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 112, 122–123.
203. Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 43.
204. Krupskaiia as quoted in Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 32–33.
205. Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 32–33.
206. On *Rabotnitsa's* appeal, see S. Stal', "Istoriia zhurnala 'Rabotnitsa,'" in Artiukhina, *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii*, 108–111; on Bolshevik grumbling, see Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 45. On the history of the prewar *Rabotnitsa*, see Vavilina, *Vsegda s vami*, 36; and Stal', "Istoriia zhurnala 'Rabotnitsa,'" 111. For an overall discussion of International Women's Day and *Rabotnitsa*, see Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 29–35; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 253–254; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 153.
207. The fullest account of the incident is in letters to *Zhenskoe delo* from Mirovich and Lepkovskaiia for the Moscow League Council, published in the December 15, 1911, issue (pages 17–20). See also the account in *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1912): 30. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 134, discusses the conflict. Stites calls the incident a "largely personal feud" (Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 221).
208. Z. Mirovich, "Pis'ma v redaktsiiu," *Zhenskoe delo* (December 15, 1911): 17–18, 18.
209. A. Lepkovskaiia, *Zhenskoe delo* (December 1, 1911): 19–20, 20.
210. Mirovich, "Pis'ma v redaktsiiu," 18.
211. *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1912): 30.
212. "Po povodu zhenskogo mitinga," *Zhenskii vestnik* (December 1912): 272–277.
213. Tyrkova, *Na putiakh*; 407, and Ruthchild, "Writing for Their Rights," 167–195, 184–185.
214. Aron Avrekh, *Stolypin i tret'ia Duma*, 39–41. The Avrekh quotations are from Tyrkova's diary about a meeting at which Gredeskul, Alexander Protopopov, and Ervin Grimm all asserted that the Kadets had no paper besides the "Jewish' *Rech*." Tyrkova apparently agreed with these sentiments. Fedor Rodichev and David Grimm, Tyrkova wrote, "were against us (*byli protiv nas*)." Avrekh (41) writes that there are a number of such comments in Tyrkova's diaries. I was not able to view these diaries myself.
215. Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Right*, 180; and V. V. Shelokhaev, ed., *Programmy politicheskikh partii Rossii: Konets XIX–Nachalo XX vv* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1995), 369.

216. Avrekh, *Stolypin i Tret'ia Duma*, 463–465. Tyrkova subsequently remarked ironically to Metropolitan Evlogii, a former rightist Duma deputy later chosen as the head of the western European Russian Orthodox Church, in 1942, as the Red Army battled the Nazi invaders: “Would you have believed . . . that you and I would extol the Jewish masons (vas vmeste so mnoi budut velichat' zhidomasonom)?” This was a reference to the myth, propagated by the prerevolutionary Russian right wing, taken up by the Nazis and widely circulated again in post-Soviet Russia, of a Bolshevik Jewish Masonic conspiracy. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 367–368.

217. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putiakh k svobode*, 408.

218. TSIAM, Fond 2251, opis 1, delo 237, s. 12. Anna Andreevna Kal'manovich's last Russian work, a translation of Christabel Pankhurst's condemnation of male immorality, *The Great Scourge and How to End It*, appeared in 1914 under the title *Strashnyi bich i sredstvo ego unichtozhenii*. The most prominent Jewish feminist, she is listed in League membership reports through 1915. Although Anna Kal'manovich's exact date of death remains unknown, in the pamphlet *Tsarskaia rasprava*, published in 1927, Samuil Kal'manovich refers to his wife as deceased. See Samuil Eremeevich Kal'manovich, *Tsarskaia rasprava* (Moscow: Izd. Vsesoiuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i ssylno-poselentsev, 1927), 16. Kal'manovich's husband died “not earlier than 1930.” See P. A. Pozhigailo, ed., *P. A. Stolypin: Perepiska* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004), 484–485n5. N. A. Troitskii, *Advokatura v Rossii i politicheskie protsessy, 1866–1904gg.* (Tula: Avtograf, 2000) claims that Samuil Kal'manovich died “after 1934 in the Soviet Union” (418–419). Efforts to contact Professor Troitskii to find out more about the fates of Samuil and Anna Kal'manovich were unsuccessful.

219. For a nuanced discussion of the issues raised by the Judicial Reforms of 1864, the notion of judicial independence, and its reflection in debates about family law reform in late Imperial Russia, see Wagner, *Marriage, Property, and Law*.

220. Pokrovskaiia, “Gosudarstvennyi Soviet i iuristki,” 45; and “Advokatesy i Gosudarstvennyi Soviet,” 1.

221. Offen, *European Feminisms*, 223.

222. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 288–289.

223. Offen, *European Feminisms*, 242.

## Chapter 7. War, Revolution, Victory?

In this chapter I have incorporated material from Ruthchild, “Women's Suffrage and Revolution in the Russian Empire.” *Epigraphs*: Kollontai (A. Kalantai), “Rabotnitsy i uchreditel'noe sobranie,” *Pravda*, March 21, 1917, 1–2, 1. Maria Pokrovskaiia, “Dnevnik suffrazhistki,” *Zhenskii vestnik* 13.

1. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 274; and A. P. Balk, “Gibel' tsarskogo Petrograda: Fevral'skaia revoliutsiia glazami gradonachalnika A. P. Balk: Vospominaniia A. P. Balka iz arkhiva guvernskogo institute voyny, revoliutsii i mira (Stenford, SShA), 1929 g.,” *Russkoe proshloe* 1 (1991): 7–72, 26.

2. Burdzhakov, *Vtoraia russkaia revoliutsiia*, vol. 1, 118–127, the quotation is on 126–127; Hasegawa, *February Revolution*, 215; and Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 274, for the equal rights banner.

3. The literature on strikes, disorders, and food riots in both Russian and English in this period is extensive. The following are especially influential. On strikes, see Haimson, *Russia's*

*Revolutionary Experience*, and his “Problem of Political and Social Stability in Urban Russia”; Koenker and Rosenberg, *Strikes and Revolutions in Russia*; Kaiser, *View from Below*; Haimson and Tilly, *Strikes, Wars, and Revolutions in an International Perspective*; Smith, *Red Petrograd*. On the role of women in food riots in Russia, see Engel, “Not by Bread Alone”; Smith, “Class and Gender”; McDermid and Hillyar, *Women and Work in Russia*, and *Midwives of the Revolution*; Hillyar and McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia*; and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*. On Russian women as soldiers and the Women’s Death Battalion, see Stockdale, “My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness.”

4. See Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*; and Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*. Stites writes that “winning the vote turned out to be a hollow victory for the Western feminists,” comparing Western feminism with the Bolshevik approach to women’s liberation (*Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 417).

5. Hogan, *Forging Revolution*, 182.

6. Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 23.

7. *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1915): 78.

8. *Zhenskoe delo* (March 15, 1916): 6.

9. *Zhenskii vestnik* (May–June 1915): 118.

10. *Zhenskoe delo* (November 15, 1915).

11. Strievskaiia, “Uchastie Bestuzhevok v Revoliutsionnom dvizhenii,” 69.

12. The Germans declared war on July 19, 1914, by the Russian calendar.

13. “Khronika zhenskago dela,” *Zhenskoe delo* (August 1, 1914): 22.

14. “Tragediia voiny,” *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1915): 81–82.

15. Thönnessen, *Emancipation of Women*, 75–79.

16. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 275. Arriving in the United States in January 1917, during his brief stay, Trotsky edited the Russian language newspaper *Novyi mir* (New world) with Nikolai Bukharin.

17. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 161; Offen, *European Feminisms*, 259–260; and Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*, 281. The text of the resolutions can be found online at <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/hague/doc1.htm> (accessed on January 16, 2007). The quotation is in section III, “Principles of a Permanent Peace,” 9, *The Enfranchisement of Women*, page 3 in the text.

18. In 1919 the committee changed its name to the International Women’s League for Peace and Freedom. See Thébaud, “Great War and the Triumph of Sexual Division,” 59–60.

19. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 161.

20. Shabanova as quoted in *Zhenskii vestnik* (October 1915): 164. Feminists in the warring nations in most cases rallied to the flag once the war began. The conflict did cause a split among the Pankhursts, the leading British suffrage advocates. At first the *Suffragette*, the paper of the Women’s Social and Political Union, led by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, championed the view that the war should not stop the struggle for women’s rights: “Women of the WSPU, we must protect our Union through everything.” But then the paper retreated, with Emmeline Pankhurst announcing the end, for the time being, of “the war of women against men” (Pankhurst, *My Own Story*, foreword). By April 16, 1915, the *Suffragette* announced: “It is a thousand times the duty of the militant suffragettes to fight the Kaiser for the sake of liberty than it was to fight anti-Suffrage governments” (Pankhurst, *Life of Emmeline Pankhurst*, 153). Adela and Sylvia Pankhurst opposed the war and adhered to the appeal by Dutch suffragists and English pacifists for the International Congress of Women at The Hague (Pankhurst, *Life of Emmeline Pankhurst*, 152).

21. M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii et al., *Chego zhdet Rossiia ot voiny? Sbornik statei* (Petrograd: Kn-vo "Prometei" N. N. Mikhailova, 1915).
22. Poliksena N. Shishkina-Iavein, "Voina i zhenshchina," in Tugan-Baranovskii et al., *Chego zhdet*, 214–220.
23. See Maria Ivanova, "Zguchii dlia vseh vopros," *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1915): 16–20, 16; Maria Pokrovskaiia, "Otnoshenie zhenshchin k zapreshcheniiu prodazhi spirtnykh napitkov," *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1915): 91–93; and I. Popov, "Bor'ba s p'ianstvom," *Zhenskoe delo* (September 1, 1914): 1.
24. Maria Ivanova, "Otkrytie Ameriki," *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1916): 1–4, 1.
25. M. Blandova, "Velikii khudozhnik-feminist," *Zhenskoe delo* (July 15, 1916): 9. One argument used by feminists in support of the war was the belief that if women showed a clear contribution to the defense effort, they would be rewarded after the war was over. Although the leaders of many countries fostered this belief, after the war many conveniently forgot their promises. During the war, for example, both the King and Queen of Belgium publicly supported women's suffrage. In the first postwar Belgian Parliament, however, the King recommended only universal male suffrage. As before, Belgian Catholics favored women's suffrage and the liberals and socialists opposed it. Only women's agency, expressed in this case in a large petition campaign, led to the enactment of a very limited female suffrage law in 1919. See Stanton et al., *History of Women's Suffrage*, vol. 6, 787; and Carlier, "Shaping Belgian Feminism."
26. "Khronika zhenskago dela," *Zhenskoe delo* (November 15, 1915).
27. *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1916): 23.
28. *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1916): 12. Also cited in Alfred G. Meyer, "The Impact of World War I on Russian Women's Lives," in Clements, Engel, and Worobec, *Russia's Women*, 208–224, 222.
29. On the Women's Congress, see *Zhenskii vestnik* (December 1915): 217, and *Zhenskoe delo* (December 15, 1915): 18. On the statement to the town dumas, see *Zhenskii vestnik* (January 1916): 11–12. On the call to voters, see *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1916): 60–61. On the public meeting, held February 12, 1916, see Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 226.
30. See any issue of *Zhenskoe delo* for the war years.
31. Engel, "Not by Bread Alone," 715.
32. *Zhenskaia zhizn'* (October 7, 1914): 1; and *ibid.*, 1914–1916.
33. *Zhenskaia zhizn'* (January 1915): 2.
34. On the Women's Economic Union, see *Zhenskii vestnik* (March 1916): 62.
35. Serditova, *Bol'sheviki v bor'be za zhenskie proletarskie massy*, 123.
36. Koenker and Rosenberg, in *Strikes and Revolution in Russia*, note that the increase in strikes and protests in Russia is not an isolated phenomenon; a similar increase in labor unrest can be seen in all the combatant countries in World War I. For more on Russian women and the war, see Ross, "Role of the Women of Petrograd in War, Revolution, and Counter-Revolution"; and Meyer, "Impact of World War I on Russian Women's Lives."
37. Meyer, "Impact of World War I on Russian Women's Lives," 211–212. For a general discussion of the place of the soldier's wife in folklore and her changing role after emancipation, see Beatrice Farnsworth, "The Soldatka: Folklore and Court Record," *Slavic Review* 49, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 58–73.
38. For information on pre-1917 food disorders, see Engel, "Not by Bread Alone," 696–721.
39. Melançon, *Socialist-Revolutionaries*, 229.
40. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 44–45; and Bil'shai, *Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 96.

41. For a summary of historians' debates about the February Revolution and advocacy of the primary role of male revolutionary activists, see Melançon, *Rethinking Russia's February Revolution*. For views emphasizing women's agency, see Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*; McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution* and *Women and Work in Russia*; Hillyar and McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia*; and Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*.

42. Burdzhakov, *Vtoraia russkaia revoliutsiia*, vol. 1, *Vosstanie v Petrograde*, 119.

43. V. N. Kaiurov, "Shest' dnei fevral'skoi revoliutsii," *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 1, no. 13 (1923): 158, as cited in Longley, "The *Mezhraionka*, the Bolsheviks, and International Women's Day," 632.

44. Leon Trotsky, *Istoriia russkoi revoliutsii*, 2 vols, vol. 1, *Fevralskaia revoliutsiia* (Berlin: Izd. "Granit," 1931), 126.

45. Trotsky, *Russian Revolution*, 97.

46. For one example of the ongoing debate, see Melançon, "Who Wrote What and When?"; White, "February Revolution and the Bolshevik Vyborg District Committee"; Longley, "The *Mezhraionka*, the Bolsheviks, and International Women's Day," 625–645; and Melançon, "International Women's Day" and *Socialist-Revolutionaries*, especially 226–243. For another perspective, see Hasegawa, *February Revolution*, 215–231.

47. See, for example, Rabinowitch, *Prelude to Revolution*, who cites International Women's Day as a time when "disturbances broke out among long lines of housewives waiting for bread" (25). See also Ferro, *Russian Revolution of February 1917*, who writes that "the parties and the trade-unions were trying to organize a demonstration for February 23, called 'Workers Day.'" (*Russian Revolution of February 1917*, 36). Pipes, in *Russian Revolution*, is the only scholar to link the International Women's Day demonstration with demands for equal rights for women in the one paragraph he devotes to the February 23 demonstrations (*Russian Revolution*, 274–275). For a more recent example, see Koenker and Rosenberg, in *Strikes and Revolution*, who cite Leopold Haimson's work to argue that "the demonstrations of angry women on February 23, International Women's Day, gave a vital impetus to unfolding events. . . . But the real force for change came from thousands of Vyborg metalworkers" (*Strikes and Revolutions in Russia*, 96). Wade, *Russian Revolution, 1917*, provides a similar interpretation: "Once the women started the demonstrations, workers at the metalworking factories eagerly took them up, with more overtly political slogans and goals" (*Russian Revolution, 1917*, 32). Read, *From Tsar to Soviets*, calls International Women's Day "one of Russia's most widely celebrated socialist festivals," but then minimizes its significance in February, writing only that "tens of thousands of working people, men and women, poured into the streets" (*From Tsar to Soviets*, 43). Tsuyoshi Hasegawa does note the role of women in the initial stage of the revolution, but then moves on (*February Revolution*, 215–231). See also the debate about the spontaneity of the February 23 demonstrations between Melançon, Longley, and White mentioned below. The Soviet historian E. N. Burdzhakov does acknowledge in more detail the role of women: "It was the women who initiated action in most cases, primarily working women from the textile mills"; see Burdzhakov, *Russia's Second Revolution*, 106 for the quotation and 104–122 for the first day of the revolution. For an excellent critique of this approach and a much more nuanced approach to the role of the woman worker in 1917, see McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution*.

48. Melançon accepts Shliapnikov's claim, arguing that it was not indifference but lack of "printing capacity" (*tekhnika*) that foiled the production of more leaflets. See Melançon, "Who Wrote What and When?" 480.

49. The leaflet is in Longley, "The *Mezhraionka*, the Bolsheviks, and International Women's Day," appendix F ("Pechatnyi listok Peterburgskogo Mezhduraionnogo Komiteta

posviashchennyi Mezhdunarodnomu dnu rabotnits—23 fevralia 1917g.”). Hasegawa disputes Shliapnikov’s claim, arguing that it was not lack of a printing press, but the Russian Bureau of the Bolshevik Central Committee’s policies directing activists “not to divert unnecessary energy for this relatively insignificant occasion” (see Hasegawa, *February Revolution*, 216). Lenin voiced concerns about the “backwardness” of women in a conversation with Clara Zetkin, in which he compared women with “little worms”: “The backwardness of women, their lack of understanding for the revolutionary ideals of the man, decrease his joy and determination in fighting. They are like little worms, which unseen, slowly but surely rot and corrode”; from Klara Zetkin, “Reminiscences of Lenin,” in Schlesinger, *Family in the USSR*, 78, cited in Thomas G. Schrand, “Socialism in One Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution,” in Clements, Friedman, and Healey, *Russian Masculinities*, 194–209, 206n5.

50. Italics added, from the original Russian: “i ne uderzhivat’, tovarishchi rabotnitsy, dolzhny vyi ostavshikhsia tovarishchei muzhchin, a sami prisoedinit’sia k nim v družnoi’ bor’be s pravitel’svom i zavodchikami.”

51. Chatterjee, in *Celebrating Women*, discusses “The Two Stories of the February Revolution,” the title of her chapter 2, on pages 37–58.

52. Ibid.

53. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 47; and Hasegawa, *February Revolution*, 219.

54. Hasegawa, *February Revolution*, 220–221.

55. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 49.

56. Burdzhakov, *Vtoraia russkaia revoliutsiia*, vol. 1, 130.

57. Hasegawa, *February Revolution*, 254–255.

58. Trotsky, *Russian Revolution*, 105. Women were valued for their talent in winning over soldiers during the French Revolution. See Bobroff-Hajal, *Working Women in Russia under the Hunger Tsars*, 45n16; and Racz, “Women’s Rights Movement in the French Revolution,” 173.

59. For earlier examples of the ways in which women used gender roles in confrontations with soldiers, see Thompson, “English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century.” Thompson cites a Haverfordwest magistrate recounting an encounter between women and soldiers: “The women told the common men [soldiers] that they knew they were in their Hearts for them and would do them no hurt” (ibid., 115–116).

60. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 54.

61. Thompson, “English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” 115–116. See also Lynne Viola, “Bab’i Bunty and Peasant Women’s Protest during Collectivization,” in Farnsworth and Viola, *Russian Peasant Women*.

62. *Pravda* 2 (March 7, 1917): 1; and Ekaterina Bochkareva and Serafima Liubimova, *Svetlyi put’* (Moscow: Izd. Polit. Literatury, 1967), 52.

63. Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 58.

64. Ibid.

65. McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution*, 17. The role of women in leading riots and disturbances in other contexts has been noted by such scholars as E. P. Thompson. In his “English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” Thompson cites Southey writing in 1807 that “women are more disposed to be mutinous.” He comments wryly that the women initiating the riots he describes “appear . . . to have been unaware that they should have waited some two hundred years for their Liberation” (ibid., 116). The greatest number of books and articles about the role of women in riots concerns the French Revolution. See, for example, Godineau, *Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*; Melzer and Rabine, *Rebel Daughters*; Rudé, *Crowd in the French Revolution*; and Racz, “Women’s Rights Movement in the French Revolution,” 151–174.

66. *Zhenskii vestnik* 13, no. 3 (March 1917): 1–3. The first quotation is on page 1; the second is on page 3.

67. “The First Declaration of the Provisional Government,” in Robert Browder and Alexander Kerensky, eds., *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), vol. 1, 158; “To the People of Petrograd and Russia From the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies,” vol. 1, 78, *Izvestiia Petrogradskogo Soveta rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov*, 1 (February 28, 1917): 2.

68. Drumm, “Bolshevik and Feminist Attempts to Organize Women,” 10.

69. The Provisional Government’s statement on suffrage supports universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage but does not specifically mention women’s suffrage, see Browder and Kerensky, *Russian Provisional Government*, vol. 1, 158. For Kerensky’s commitment to the principle of women’s rights, see *ibid.*, 173. The interview is cited in Ross, “Role of the Women of Petrograd in War, Revolution, and Counter-Revolution,” 168–169. Chekhova’s description of the Kerensky episode is in Tsentral’nyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskvy (TsIAM, State Historical Archive of the city of Moscow), Fond 2251, opis 2, delo 247, ss. 1–4. For actions abolishing the death penalty, see Browder and Kerensky, *Russian Provisional Government*, 176; for other early actions of the Provisional Government, see *ibid.*, 161–167.

70. Chekhova’s archive includes the text of the telegram (1) as well as her perspective on the interaction. See TsIAM, Fond 2251, opis 2, delo 247, ss. 1–4.

71. “Sobranie sluzhashchikh kreditnykh uchrezhdenii,” *Pravda* 4 (March 9, 1917): 3.

72. *Rabochnaia gazeta* (March 9, 1917) for the meeting; *Pravda* (March 15, 1917), for the Duma demonstration.

73. *Pravda* (March 15, 1917).

74. Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 192.

75. Olga Bobyleva, “Privet russkoi rabotnitse,” *Pravda* (March 10, 1917): 3–4, 3. On Lenin’s sister’s pseudonym, see Drumm, “Bolshevik and Feminist Attempts to Organize Women,” 5.

76. Bobyleva, “Privet russkoi rabotnitse,” 3–4.

77. Kollontai (A. Kalantai), “Rabotnitsy i uchreditel’noe sobranie,” 1.

78. Bobroff, “Bolsheviks and Working Women,” 558, 560. Bobroff-Hajal, *Working Women in Russia under the Hunger Tsars*, 91. On the Khabarovsk meetings and demonstrations, see Shcherbinin, *Voennyi faktor v povesednevnoi zhizni russkoi zhenshchiny v XVIII–nachale XX v.*, 475.

79. Maria Ancharova, “Zhenshchiny i uchreditel’noe sobranie,” *Zhenskoe delo* (May 1, 1917): 1–3, 1.

80. Protasov, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel’noe sobranie*, 69.

81. Olga Zakuta, *Kak v revoliutsionnoe vremia vserossiiskaia liga ravnopraviiia zhenshchin dobilas’ izbiratel’nykh prav dlia russkikh zhenshchin* (Petrograd: Tipografiia A. G. Syrkinia, 1917), 2. Available online at <http://www.vvsu.ru/gtc/e-library/files/liga.doc> (accessed on January 10, 2007).

82. Zakuta names the speakers, besides herself, as Gorovits-Vlasova, Doroshevskaiia, Zhuravskaiia, Kal’manovich, Korsh, Krauze, Luchinskaiia, Rabinovich, Shishkina-Iavein, Shabad, and Shchepkina. She notes that there were many others. On the beginning of the march, see Zakuta, *Kak v revoliutsionnoe*, 1–2, and also Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 261. The newsreel of the march is at the Russian State Film and Photo Documents Archive, Krasnogorsk (RGAKFD), (Year 1917, Document 578). The filmmakers are unknown.

83. Alexandra Kollontai, *Rabotnitsa za god revoliutsii* (Moscow-Leningrad: Kommunist, 1918), 9.

84. Zakuta, *Kak v revoliutsionnoe*, 3.

85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 261.
88. Ibid.; *Rech'* (March 21, 1917), 5; *Ius suffragii* (November 1, 1917), 26; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 293; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 165–166.
89. Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 175n21; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 294; and Khasbulatova and Gafisova, *Zhenskoe dvizhenie*, 182–183.
90. Ross, “Role of the Women of Petrograd in War, Revolution, and Counter-Revolution,” 170; Liubov Gurevich, *Pochemu nuzhno dat' zhenshchinam takiia zhe prava, kak muzhchinam* (Petrograd: Izd. Znanie-Sila, 1917), 3; *Zhenskii vestnik* (April 1917): 49; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 165–166; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 291–295.
91. Rodzianko had experienced the wrath of the tsar on the issue of universal suffrage. The autocrat remained opposed to full suffrage and further democratic reforms even at a time of utmost peril to his rule. Immediately after the start of the February Revolution, Rodzianko met with the tsar on March 3 1917, presenting him with a proposal for elections to a Constituent Assembly based on the four-tail formula. The tsar rejected it out of hand, writing in his diary: “God knows who thought up such nonsense!” See Nikolai Alexandrovich Romanov, *Dnevnik Imperatora Nikolaia II*, edited by K. F. Shatskillo (Moscow: Orbita, 1991), 625.
92. Kollontai (A. Kalantai), “Rabotnitsy i uchreditel'noe sobranie,” 1.
93. Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 110.
94. Norton, “Laying the Foundation of Democracy in Russia,” 101–123, 105, 120n21. For the text of the electoral law, see Browder and Kerensky, *Russian Provisional Government*, vol. 1, 454–461. The clause including women as eligible voters is chapter 2, “On Suffrage,” 3, on page 455.
95. Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 111.
96. University of East Anglia Archives, KP/JK/4/1/1, Jessie Kenney Papers. Loose sheets of paper with June 24, 1917, handwritten diary entries by Jessie Kenney. I am indebted to Olga Shnyrova for the information about this archive. See Olga Shnyrova, “‘Za svobodu! Za chest'! Suffrazhistskaia missiia v revoliutsionnuu Rossiiu,” unpublished paper, and Shnyrova, “Feminism and Suffrage in Russia: Women, War and Revolution 1914–1917,” in Fell and Sharp, *Women's Movement in Wartime*, 124–140; and June Purvis, “The Pankhursts and the Great War,” in Fell and Sharp, *Women's Movement in Wartime*, 141–157. On Emmeline Pankhurst's visit to Russia and her daughter Sylvia's objections to it, see Purvis in Fell and Sharp, *Women's Movement in Wartime*, 152–153.
97. On Pankhurst and Bochkareva, see Maria Bochkareva, *Yashka* (New York: Frederic A. Stokes, 1919), 168–169. Pankhurst considered Bochkareva the “modern parallel” to Joan of Arc (ibid., ix). See also Richard Abraham, “Maria Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons of 1917,” in Edmondson, *Women and Society*, 124–144, 126; and Stockdale, “My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness,” 80, 101, 111. See also Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 297; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 168.
98. Norton, “Laying the Foundation of Democracy in Russia,” 105. On Breshko-Breshkovskaia, see Catherine Breshkovsky, *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*, edited by Alice Stone Blackwell (Boston: Little, Brown, 1917), 319. On the Republican Union, see Bochkareva and Liubimova, *Svetlyi put'*, 62; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 292, 298; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 167.
99. Library and Archives Canada, MG 28 I 245, “International Council of Women,” vol. 46, Box 116, File 687, Shabanova letter to ICW Vice President Mme. Siegfried, April 1917; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 291–292.



100. On the municipal elections, see Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 294; and Stanton et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 773. On coeducation and teachers, see Browder and Kerensky, *Russian Provisional Government*, vol. 2, 778–779; on jurors, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, 225; on legal practice and the civil service, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, 238–239; on night work, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, 740–741. On what was *not* done, see Bil'shai, *Reshenie zhenskogo voprosa v SSSR*, 99. Women in Massachusetts did not win the right to serve as jurors until 1950.

101. Edmondson, "Women's Rights, Gender, and Citizenship in Tsarist Russia," 160.

102. Protasov, "Zhenshchina v Vserossiiskoe Uchreditel'noe Sobranie," 47.

103. Sypchenko and Morozov, *Trudovaia narodno-sotsialisticheskaia partiia*, 269, 274, 287.

104. "Eshche odna nespravedlivost'," *Zhenskoe delo* 20 (November 1, 1917): 1. For the electoral lists, see Sypchenko and Morozov, *Trudovaia narodno-sotsialisticheskaia partiia*, 343–353.

105. For the list, see *Jus suffragii* (March 1, 1918): 94; Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 301; and Pietrow-Ennker, *Russlands "neue Menschen"*, 351. Radkey, *Russia Goes to the Polls*, 154, opp. 157, for the feminist vote totals.

106. *Ibid.*

107. On the schoolteacher, see Radkey, *Russia Goes to the Polls*, 45; on women voting Bolshevik, see *ibid.*, 62.

108. Ferro, *Russian Revolution of February 1917*, 356.

109. Pauline S. Crosley, *Intimate Letters from Petrograd* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1920), 221.

110. V. N. Kulik, "Tveritianski v 1917 godu," in Uspenskaia, *Zhenshchiny. Istoriia. Obshchestvo*, 138–148, 143. The Russian original is "Ne khodite vyi, devchonki, S demokratami guliat': Demokrati vas nauchat, Proklamatsii chitat'."

111. Vishniak, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie*, 83.

112. I witnessed get-out-the-vote efforts while in the Soviet Union as an exchange student. On one occasion canvassers came to my dorm room to make sure that my roommate had voted, and on another occasion they boarded a train on which I was riding to make sure all the passengers had cast their ballots. The goal was 100 percent participation. For the Constituent Assembly election participation figures, see Radkey, *Russia Goes to the Polls*, 44–45.

113. Protasov, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie*, 70.

114. Vishniak, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie*, 83.

115. Protasov, "Zhenshchina v Vserossiiskoe Uchreditel'noe Sobranie," 51.

116. On the voting percentages, see *ibid.*, 50.

117. Corder and Wolbrecht, "Incorporating Women Voters after Suffrage," 22.

118. On the feminist vote, see Protasov, "Zhenshchina v Vserossiiskoe Uchreditel'noe Sobranie," 48; Spirin, *Rossia 1917 god*, 299; and Radkey, *Russia Goes to the Polls*, xii (foreword by Sheila Fitzpatrick), 154, opp. 157. The vote totals for the feminists are in table 3, first unnumbered page and the page before 157. Radkey placed the feminists in the category of "special-interest groups," quaintly characterized as part of "sundry elements with axes to grind, such as feminists" (*ibid.*, 124). On Tyrkova, see Norman, "Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, November 26, 1869–January 12, 1962," 278, on her loss to Trotsky. On Slětova, see Radkey, *Russia Goes to the Polls*, 44. On all the women elected, see Protasov, "Zhenshchina v Vserossiiskoe Uchreditel'noe Sobranie," 52–53. For a description of the first session of the Constituent Assembly, see especially Vishniak, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie*, 98–116. See also Vaksberg, *Val'kiriia revoliutsii*.

119. Enderlein, "'Hier était demain,'" 139. Évelyne Enderlein was told by Arkadii Vaksberg that the list of feminist organizations and publications to be closed was compiled by Kollontai and is at the Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii (GARF, the State Archive of the Russian Federation). I have not been able personally to consult these documents (personal conversation, March 22, 2008).

120. Anna Shabanova, letter to Anna Backer, August 8/30, 1921, International Council of Women, 930, *Centre d'Archives pour l'Histoire des Femmes*, Brussels, Belgium. I am indebted to Karen Offen for this source.

121. Ellen Carol Dubois, "Woman Suffrage around the World: Three Phases of Suffragist Internationalism," in Daley and Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond*, 252–274, 269.

122. On the European countries, see Offen, *European Feminisms*, 264. On Turkey, see Daley and Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond*, 350.

123. Vishniak, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie*, 85.

124. Ramirez, Shanahan, and Soysal, "Changing Logic of Political Citizenship," 735.

125. For a picture of working-class women demonstrating with feminist banners in this period, see Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 274. Pipes says the demonstration is on International Women's Day, but it could have been part of the March 19 suffrage demonstration. Either way, the photo shows how working-class women had adopted feminist demands in 1917.

126. "Biennial report of the National Council of Women on the United States," December 11, 1917. "The Suffrage Committee. Report of Miss Marion May," 54. American Memory, Library of Congress, Selections from the National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection, 1848–1921. Available online at <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbnawsa.n8356> (accessed on January 16, 2007).

127. On Britain, see Thébaud, "Great War and the Triumph of Sexual Division," 65. On Austria, France, and Germany, see Offen, *European Feminisms*, 288, 297, 381–382.

128. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 292–296.

129. *Ibid.*, 295.

130. Gisela Bock has argued that while women's suffrage did not result in dramatic changes, its long-term benefits for women are real. See Bock, *Women in European History*, 252.

131. See Gurevich, *Pochemu nuzhno dat' zhenshchinam*; Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 165–169; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 291–295. Vishniak contended that the Provisional Government's electoral law was the model for other eastern and central European countries such as Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, and also for Republican Spain (Vishniak, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie*, 85).

## Chapter 8. *Twelve Years of Struggle*

*Epigraph:* Maria Pokrovskaia, "Dnevnik suffrazhistki," *Zhenskii vestnik* 13, no. 3 (March 1917): 35–37, 36.

1. Revolutions often have not brought positive change for women. As discussed earlier, the French Revolution of 1789 actually resulted in the explicit denial of political rights for women. See Hause with Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic*.

2. For the periphery of Europe argument, see Markoff, "Margins, Centers, and Democracy," 85–116. For the advantages of "backwardness" argument, see Irma Sulkunen, "The Women's Movement," in *Finland: People. Nation. State*, edited by Max Engman and David Kirby (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 178–191. On the evolving arguments for women's suffrage, see Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan, "Changing Logic of Political Citizenship," 735.

3. Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, 229–230. The citation on housework comes from *Zhenskii vestnik* (February 1906): 39. Similar remarks can be found in N. Mirovich, *Iz istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow: Tip. I. D. Sytina, 1908), 43–44.

4. Enderlein, "Hier était demain," 139.

5. Kendall Bailes, “Reflections on Russian Professions,” in Balzer, *Russia’s Missing Middle Class*, 39–54, 43.

6. Emphasis on the feminist–socialist dichotomy remains dominant in most histories of the 1905–1917 period. Rex Wade, for example, has emphasized “a long history of dispute between feminists and socialist women” and argues that “educated women in the socialist parties, however, rejected feminism” (Wade, *Russian Revolution*, 116–117). A photo on page 117 (ibid.) illustrates women workers’ sympathy for women’s rights. It shows a group of working-class women in an undated demonstration carrying a sign reading: “If a woman is a slave, there can be no freedom. Long live the woman who is equal in rights” (my translation). Choi Chatterjee has noted that “Linda Edmondson believes that the divide between the socialists and the feminists was not absolute at this point (1914) but gives little evidence to the contrary” (Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women*, 172n81).

7. Weber, *Russian Revolutions*, 139n181.

8. On Margulies-Aitova, see Arian, *Pervyi zhenskii kalendar’ na 1914 god*, 323. On Shabanova, see Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*; Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement in Russia*; Michelle Den Beste, “Anna Nikolaevna Shabanova,” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women’s Movements*, 67–69; and Natalia Novikova, “Anna Shabanova,” in de Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women’s Movements and Feminisms*, 498–502; and Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 203–206. On Pokrovskaiia, see Linda Edmondson, “Maria Pokrovskaiia and *Zhenskii vestnik*: Feminist Separatism in Theory and Practice,” in Norton and Gheith, *Improper Profession*, 196–221; Ruthchild, “Writing for Their Rights”; Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, “Maria Ivanovna Pokrovskaiia,” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women’s Movements*, 55–57; and Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 207–210. On Shishkina-Iavein, see Irina Yukina, “Poliksena Nesterovna Shishkina-Iavein,” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women’s Movements*, 74–77; “Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein,” in de Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women’s Movements and Feminisms*, 510–513; and Yukina and Guseva, *Zhenskii Peterburg*, 213–215. On Burdakova, see *Otchet o deiatel’nosti Rossiiskoi Ligi navnopraviiia zhenshchin za 1913g.* (St. Petersburg: “Victoria,” 1914), 89.

9. Tyrkova, *Anna Pavlovna Filosofova*, 470–471.

10. Ellen DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women’s Movement in America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), 17–18.

## Epilogue

1. Library and Archives of Canada, “International Council of Women Archive,” MG 28 I 245, vol. 46, Box 116, File 686. Letter from Anna Shabanova to Anna Backer 30/8 August 1921, 2.

2. On the Miliukovs’ visit to Rome, see Getty Archive, Van der Poel Archive, Los Angeles, California, 2002.M.16, III. Tatiana Warscher, “What I Remember about Pavel Nicolaevic, His Wife Anna Sergejevna, Their Son Sereza (Sergej), and All About the Events of Our Friendship,” 26–28.

3. V., “Pamiati A. S. Miliukovoi,” 2; and Zhikharëva, “Anna Sergeevna Miliukova,” 2, 3. On Miliukova at the Red Cross Committee, see also Stites, *Women’s Liberation*, 307.

4. See Tyrkova-Williams, *Tò, chego bol’she ne budet* (Paris: Vozrozhdenie, 1954), *Na putiakh k svobode* (New York: Izd-vo im. Chekhova, 1952), and *From Liberty to Brest-Litovsk: The First Year of the Russian Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1919). On Tyrkova’s exile activity in Lon-

don, see also Smith, *D. S. Mirsky: A Russian—English Life*, 88–89, 146. On Miliukova, see V., “Pamiati A. S. Miliukovoi.”

5. For the fullest account in English of the trial, see Lindenmeyr, “First Soviet Political Trial”; quotations from the verdict are on page 520. For a summary of Panina’s life, see Adele Lindenmeyr, “Panina, Countess Sof’ia Vladimirovna (1871–1956),” in Noonan and Nechemias, *Encyclopedia of Russian Women’s Movements*, 49–51.

6. For a summary of Kuskova’s life, see Barbara Norton, “Kuskova, Ekaterina Dmitrievna (1869–1958),” in DeHaan et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 278–81.

7. Besides her husband and daughters, Chekhova was survived by four grandchildren, Vladimir and Liudmila Dervis and Elena and Natalia Stefanovich (Tsentral’nyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskv [TsIAM, State Historical Archive of the city of Moscow], Fond 2251, opis 1, “Khronologicheskie daty,” 3).

8. TsIAM, Fond 2251, “Maria Chekhova,” opis 1, delo 670, Letters from Shchepkina dated January 19 and March 21, 1930; March 26, 1932; and November 27, 1933.

9. TsIAM, Fond 2251, opis 1, delo 479, Correspondence with L. N. Ruttsen, 1934, s. 3 ob.

10. Institut russkoi literatury (IRLI, Institute for Russian Literature), Fond 117, “Praskov’ia Belenkaia Arian,” opis 1, delo 2, s. 1–2; the quotation is from delo 13, s. 1–2.

11. Ibid., opis 1, “Doklad inzh. N. P. Sushkovoi na obshchem sobranii 20/XII 1962g. V Muzei istorii Leningrada.”

12. Some sources date Arian’s demise as 1944, but her death certificate, located in Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (RGALI, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), gives the date as March 28, 1949 (RGALI, Fond 1018, “Praskov’ia Belenkaia Arian,” opis 3, delo 3, s. 1).

13. Olga Zakuta, *Kak v revoliutsionnoe vremia userossiiskaia liga ravnopraviiia zhenshchin dobylas’ izbiratel’nykh prav dlia russkikh zhenshchin* (Petrograd, 1917). Also available online at <http://www.vvsu.ru/grc/e-library/files/liga.doc> (accessed on February 26, 2006), 2; and S. E. Kal’manovich, *Tsarskaia rasprava*, 16.

14. Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Sankt-Peterburga (TsGIA SPb, Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg), Fond 2114, “Maria Ivanovna Pokrovskaiia,” opis 1, delo 1B, “Chetyrekh mesiachnyi kalendar’ dlia vrachei,” May 17– August 31, 1921; delo 82, “Karty sanitarnoi kharakteristiki Tentelevskogo khimicheskogo zavoda i zavoda ‘Elektricheskaiia Energiia,’” April 13–November 7, 1921, 1–42; delo 17, “Godovoi otchet za 1921 g. i mesiachnye otchety s I–XII 1921g.”; and delo 18, “Mesiachnye otchety (chernoviki) za I–V 1922g.” 1–14.

15. “Georgii Iul’evich Iavein (1863–1920),” in Beliakov and Mikhailovich, *Uchenye Sankt-Peterburgskoi Meditsinskoi Akademii poslediplomnogo obrazovaniia*, 532–549, 548.

16. Yukina, *Russkii feminizm*, 322.

17. E. N. Gurevich, “L. Ia. Gurevich—Teatral’nyi kritik,” in *Bestuzhevki v riadakh stroitelei sotsializma* (Moscow: “Mysl’,” 1969), 187–90, 189.

18. Rochelle Ruthchild, “Liubov Iakovlevna Gurevich,” in deHaan, Daskalova, and Loutfi, *Biographical Dictionary of Women’s Movements and Feminisms*, 169–72, 72.

19. Shabanova letter to Backer, National Archives of Canada, “International Council of Women Archive,” MG 28 I 245, vol. 46, Box 116, File 686, 2.

20. Ibid., 1–2.

21. Ibid., 1.

22. Yukina, *Russkii feminizm*, 295.

23. Ibid.

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